KUKA MOVEMENT

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN PUNJAB

Jaswinder Singh

Atlantic Publishers & Distributors



Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji E-library

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji E-library has been created with the approval and personal blessings of Sri Satguru Uday Singh Ji. You can easily access the wealth of teaching, learning and research materials on Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji E-library online, which until now have only been available to a handful of scholars and researchers.

This new Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji E-library allows school children, students, researchers and armchair scholars anywhere in the world at any time to study and learn from the original documents.

As well as opening access to our historical pieces of world heritage, digitisation ensures the long-term protection and conservation of these fragile treasures. This is a significant milestone in the development of the Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji E-Library, but it is just a first step on a long road.

Please join with us in this remarkable transformation of the Library. You can share your books, magazines, pamphlets, photos, music, videos etc. This will ensure they are preserved for generations to come. Each item will be fully acknowledged.

To continue this work, we need your help

Your generous contribution and help will ensure that an ever-growing number of the Library's collections are conserved and digitised, and are made available to students, scholars, and readers the world over. The Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji E-Library collection is growing day by day and some rare and priceless books/magazines/manuscripts and other items have already been digitised.

We would like to thank all the contributors who have kindly provided items from their collections. This is appreciated by us now and many readers in the future.

Contact Details

For further information - please contact

Email: NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

kirpal singh chana

KUKA MOVEMENT
FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN PUNJAB

i

KUKA MOVEMENT

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN PUNJAB

(Documents, 1880—1903 A.D.)

JASWINDER SINGH
M. A. (Hist.)

ATLANTIC PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS
B-2, Vishal Enclave, Najafgarh Road,
NEW DELHI-110027

Published by :
Atlantic Publishers & Distributors
B-2, Vishal Enclave, Najafgarh Road,
New Delhi-110027

1st Published : 1985

Printed through
COMPOSERS
at
HARDEV PRINTERS
A-49/1, Mayapuri, Phase-I
New Delhi-110064

DEDICATED

TO

Pioneers and Martyrs

of the

Kuka Movement

COMPILER'S NOTE

Four books containing official documents on the Kuka Movement have been compiled so far, three by Sardar Nahar Singh under the heading of 'Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs' and one 'Kukas of Note in the Punjab' by the Compiler of this book. The present book 'Kuka Movement—Freedom Struggle in Punjab' is the fifth one in this series. It covers the period from 1881 to 1903 A.D.

Kuka Movement stood for religious revival at a time when christianity was making serious inroads in the Punjab. It represented social reforms, clean living, honest earning, equality and simplicity when the people in the Punjab forgotten the message of their Gurus. This movement concentrated on these reforms primarily with the object of preparing the grounds for the attainment of political goal i.e. re-establishment of 'Khalsa Raj'. In other words, Kuka movement was one of the people's movement and rising against the British Rule.

The memories of the Indian Revolt of 1857 being fresh, the authorities were scared and did not want to miss any opportunity to teach lesson to those who were not reconciled to foreign dominion. During January 1872, when a band of about 150 Kukas attacked on the Maler-Kotla butchers, the British Government took it seriously and considered the attack on Maler-Kotla butchers as an attack on the Government. Sixty six Kukas were arrested, brought to Maler-Kotla ground and, without any trial, blown away with the guns though "prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large proportion of them were badly wounded... . Under these circumstances their illegal and indiscriminate execution was a measure for which there was no excuse."

Guru Ram Singh, head of the Kuka Sect, was not directly connected with the Maler-Kotla events, yet he was arrested and

deported to British Burma as State Prisoner under Regulation III of 1818. His eleven prominent and influential Subas or lieutenants were also arrested and sent to different places: Rur Singh, Maluk Singh and Pahara Singh to the Asirgarh Fort; Jowahir Singh, Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh to Moulmein and Man Singh and Hukma Singh to the Chunar Fort. Suba Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh were exiled to Adan but in 1875, they were transferred to the Hazari Bagh jail due to climate reasons. The eleventh prisoner Sardar Mangal Singh, was arrested by the Patiala State and made over to British authorities for further action. In the opinion of officiating Advocate General Mr. G.C. Paul, Esq., "The Governor-General in Council cannot legally detain under the provision of Regulation III of 1818 and Act 34 of 1850, an individual, not being a British subject but the subject of a Native State, arrested by the authorities of such Native state presumably within its territories as connected with schemes calculated to overthrow its supremacy." In view of this, Sardar Mangal Singh was released and handed over to the Patiala authorities.

Kuka State prisoners Sahib Singh, Pahara Singh, Jowahir Singh and Rur Singh died in confinement and Maluk Singh, Hukma Singh, Kahn Singh and Brahma Singh were released on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee Celebrations. Suba Lakha Singh was not allowed to return to Punjab and kept at Moulmein, where he died in 1903.

According to the Civil Surgeon's report and telegram dated 8th December 1885, Guru Ram Singh died on 29th November, 1885 in Mergui Jail due to an attack of Diarrhoea. But in the Jail Report 1885, no death due to Diarrhoea was reflected and the Column '1' in the Appendix was kept blank. Moreover, there is controversy in the British reports. For example, Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Sir Charles Bernard, in a letter dated 23rd August 1886 (i.e. nine months after the 'death' of Guru Ram Singh), to his Indian friend, informed that "Ram Singh, Kuka, is going to be transferred to a more remote spot, where communication with him will be less easy." This belies the story of Guru Ram Singh's DEATH at Mergui.

In this book, official documents from 1881 to 1903 A.D., relating to the continued correspondence between Guru Ram Singh and his followers in Punjab, movements of Gurcharan Singh and Bishan Singh in Central Asia, death and release reports of Kuka prisoners, controversial death of Guru Ram Singh and Kuka Sakhis/prophecies etc., have been compiled. All these documents have been collected from National Archives of India, New Delhi.

I am deeply indebted to Shri Harvendra Singh Hanspal, Member Parliament and General Secretary of Namdhari Darbar for inspiring me in the collection of source material of Kuka History. I am also thankful to Sardar Nahar Singh and Babu Kartar Singh who took keen interest in the matter and gave several useful suggestions for the improvement of this book. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my heart-felt thanks to the officials of the Research Room and Library of the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

At the end, I am grateful to Shri K.R. Gupta, Atlantic Publishers & Distributors (Regd.), for his excellent work and sweet co-operation.

2348/B, Raja Park,
Shakur Basti,
Delhi-110034

Jaswinder Singh

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



CONTENTS

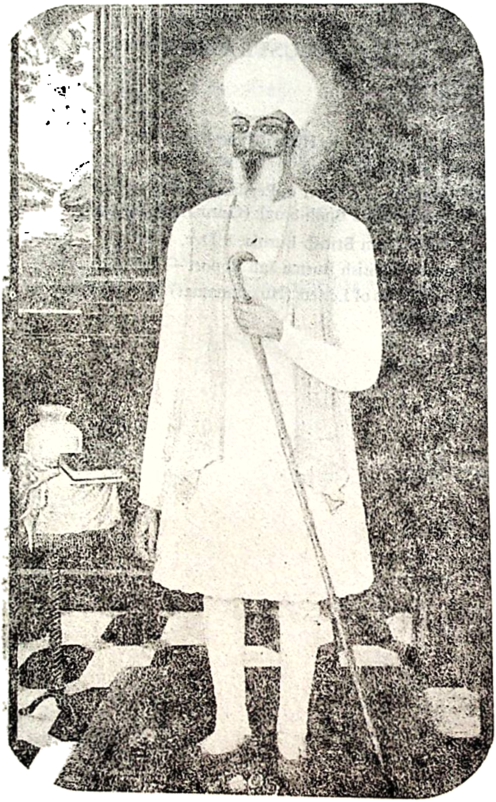
		Page
1. Communication between Guru Ram Singh and his Followers in the Punjab	...	1
2. Proposed Transfer of Guru Ram Singh to Table-Island and Release of Nannoo Singh	...	73
3. Conduct of State Prisoner Guru Ram Singh	...	86
4. Movements of Gurcharan Singh in Central Asia	...	95
5. Arrest of Gurcharan Singh under Regulation III of 1818	...	135
6. Release of Gurcharan Singh	...	153
7. Kukas and the Russian Authorities in Central Asia	...	157
8. Intention of Gurcharan Singh to visit Central Asia	...	184
9. Bishan Singh Arora of Kabul	...	188
10. Sikh Soldiers and the Kuka State Prisoners in the Chunar Fort	...	199
11. Correspondence between State Prisoners and their Relatives	...	204
12. Jail Reports	...	210
13. Death Reports of :— (a) Pahara Singh (b) Jowahir Singh, and (c) Rur Singh	...	215
14. Controversy about the Death of Guru Ram Singh	...	222

Page

15. Release of Kuka Prisoner :— 230
    (a) Sardar Mungal Singh
    (b) Maluk Singh
    (c) Hukma Singh and Man Singh
    (d) Kahn Singh, and
    (e) Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh
16. (a) Kuka Sakhis or Prophecies (Badh Tirth) ... 284
    (b) Kuka Bara Mah ... 293
17. Banarsi Dass, Kuka, Guru of Maharaja Dalip Singh ... 309
18. Censes of India—1891 ... 320
19. Letters in Gurmukhi from Guru Ram Singh ... 329

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
—Guru Ram Singh Ji, Head of the Kuka Sect.	xiv
—Suba Gurcharan Singh	103
—Photo Copy of a letter in Persian from Governor of Russia to Baba Budh Singh (Guru Hari Singh Ji).	173
—Telegram from British Burma, 8 Dec. 1885	227
—Appendix, British Burma Jail Report—1885	229
—Photo Copies of Letters (Hukamnamas) from Guru Ram Singh.	325



SATGURU RAM SINGH JI

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GURU RAM SINGH AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN THE PUNJAB

Arrest of one Nathana Singh

Political Department No. 433-R.S.

From :—G.D. Burgess, Esquire, C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Dated Rangoon, 13th August 1880

Sir,

In continuation of the correspondence ending with my letter No. 329 dated the 16th January last, I am directed to submit for the information of the Government of India a copy of the proceedings of the Deputy Commissioner and Town Magistrate of Rangoon Town District in Crim; Misc. Case No. 13 of 1880 and an extract from his letter, Judicial Deptt. Misc. No. 13/1 dated the 6th August 1880, with which they were forwarded, on the subject of arrest of one Nathana Singh for communicating with the Kooka State Prisoner Ram Singh.

2. It appears that Nathana Singh[1] arrived at Rangoon a few days ago from the Punjab in company with 26 other men of whom the chief was Hurnam Singh.[2] These men consulted

1. Dhan Singh of village Gumti in Patiala State. He told his false name 'Nathana Singh' to the Rangoon Jail authorities
2. Son of Dip Singh, village Nathana in Firozepur district.
Serial 14, p. 80—*Kukas of Note in the Punjab.* —Compiler.

together as to the best means of communicating with Ram Singh. Hurnam Singh pointed out to Nathana Singh where Ram Singh was lodged, and gave him a letter which Nathana Singh threw over the wall of Ram Singh's residence. The sentry on guard had observed Nathana Singh, and arrested him. The parcel was discovered on Nathana Singh and was found to contained letters which are annexed to the Magistrate's proceedings. The letter thrown over by Nathana Singh could not be traced. If the translations can be relied on the letters found on Nathana Singh, have little political significance in themselves.

3. **The Magistrate has been directed to take criminal proceedings against Nathana Singh, if possible. But the Chief Commissioner is advised that it is doubtful whether he can be charged with any offence, as the building occupied by Ram Singh is not a prison within the meaning of the Prisons Act, 1878.** Hurnam Singh and three other men having left for Calcutta, the Calcutta Police were informed. Intimation has been received that these men have returned to the Punjab and that the Punjab Government has been informed of their movements.

The rest of the men who accompanied Nathana Singh have proceeded to the Straits Settlements.

4. It seems not improbable that, so long as Ram Singh remains in Rangoon, the attempts to communicate with him will be repeated; and it is understood that letters from Ram Singh to his followers in the Punjab cause uneasiness and unrest. The Chief Commissioner has therefore decided, notwithstanding the objections stated in my letter mentioned above, to transfer Ram Singh to the building which has been prepared at Mergui for his reception. At Mergui there will, at least, be two obstacles in communication with Ram Singh. Mergui is comparatively difficult to reach by the fortnightly mail steamer; and arrival of the natives of India, who alone would be likely to attempt intercourse with Ram Singh, would be noticed, or that the movements of the men would be watched.

The building will be constituted in civil jail under the Prisons Act, 1870, and unauthorized communication with Ram Singh will, hereafter, be punishable.

The Deputy Commissioner of Mergui will be appointed Superintendent of the Civil Jail, and a suitable police guard will be placed over the prisoner who, however, will be subjected to no privations or restrictions beyond those now in force.

5. Ram Singh will be removed to Mergui as soon as quarters have been erected for the accommodation of the police guard, which will be in about a month. Further report will be submitted when the transfer has been effected.

Yours most obedient servant

Sd/-

for Offg. Secretary.

(Copy)

Judicial Deptt. (Crim : Misc.) No. 13/1

From :—Deputy Commissioner,
Rangoon Town District.

To :—The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Rangoon

Dated Rangoon, 6th August 1880.

Sir,

I have the honour to sumbit for the information of the Chief Commissioner a copy of my proceedings in Crim : Misc. Case No. 13 of the 4th and 5th instants in the matter of a native of the Punjab who was arrested by the sentry over State Prisoner Ram Singh's quarters on the 29th July last and subsequently transferred to the custody of the Police.

2. In this case I thought it expedient to hold an enquiry myself when I received the report of the Superintendent of Police as I am demi-officially aware that for some time past the Government has known of unauthorized communication being carried on with Ram Singh.

3. It will be seen by the Statement of the man arrested Nathana Singh that he and twenty four of his countrymen left the Punjab together and came to Rangoon *via* Calcutta. They reached Rangoon on the 27th July and put up in the Hindoo Temple in Phayre Street where they immediately consulted as to how to communicate with Ram Singh. Hurnam Singh is said to have been the chief adviser and he made enquiries on the day of his arrival as to Ram Singh's residence. He wrote a letter and made it up in a small parcel which on the third day after arrival Nathana Singh took and threw over the enclosure, as described by the sentry. On enquiry I ascertained that the Sergeant of the Guard entered the enclosure but could not discover this letter. Immediately after this letter was thrown, in a little bundle of white rage tied with red twine and weighted with a stone was thrown out to Nathana Singh and in this were the two letters which I now forwarded. I cannot vouch for the translation being perfect as it was difficult to find a capable Interpreter. According to their present interpretation they are evidently in answer to letter received and as they were thrown over immediately after Nathana Singh threw those borne by him, it must be assumed they are replies to a letter or letters previously delivered. I fully believe that either Hurnam Singh or some of the men with him delivered a letter or letters to Ram Singh on first or second day after arrival here and that those found on Nathana Singh are replies to that letter or letters. The moment I discovered that Hurnam Singh was with others mixed up in this matter, I directed an Inspector of Police to enquire about them and he reported that Hurnam Singh and three others left for Calcutta two days after the arrest of Nathana Singh. I have telegraphed to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to enquire about him. The other men are reported to have gone to the Straits.

4. From what I have been able to ascertain I do not think there was any organized party and that in all probability the majority of the men came as stated by Nathana Singh to seek service here and in the straits. It is however, questionable whether Nathana Singh himself or Hurnam Singh came with any other object than that of communicating with Ram Singh

for on Nathana Singh was found Rs. 96-4-6 which is a very large sum for a man to possess who has just arrived from India to seek service here.

I have etc.
(Sd/-) R.C. Evanson, Major,
Deputy Commissioner.

Rangoon Town District Deputy Commissioner's Court
The 4th August 1880.

Present : R.C. Evanson, Major,
Deputy Commissioner.

Crim : Misc. No. 13 of 3rd, 2nd 1880.

Read report of the Superintendent of Police in the matter of a Punjabee who was found throwing documents over the enclosure wall of Ram Singh's place of confinement.

The Supdt. of Police has properly treated the man under sections 504 Criminal Procedure Code, and he has been detained pending translations of the documents and on enquiry into his character occupation etc. The documents (translation) appear harmless and purport to be more from within the prison than without it.

These documents will be forwarded to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner with an extract of this proceeding and copy of Mr. Kume's letter, but before I submit a report on the case I wish to examine the prisoner and hear the evidence in my executive capacity.

ORDER

The prisoner and witnesses to be brought to my office tomorrow at 11 A.M.

(Sd/-) R.C. Evanson,
Town Magistrate and Deputy
Commissioner.

Rangoon, the 5th August 1880.

The Prisoner Nathana Singh answer to questions states :

I arrived here from the Punjab ten days ago with twenty six other Punjabees. Hurnam Singh was the chief man amongst us. We all went and put up in the Krishna Temple, Phayre Street and consulted as to how to deliver a letter to Ram Singh. Hurnam Singh wrote the letter while I was cooking rice. I was deputed to take this letter on the third day after arrival. It was rolled up in a piece of cloth. On the second day after arrival five of us went to see the Pagoda. The day before Hurnam Singh went out to make enquiries and when we were returning he showed me Ram Singh's bunglow. The next day I took the bundle made up by Hurnam Singh and threw it over the enclosure. In a minute or two, a small bundle was thrown to me from inside. After I picked it up I was arrested by the sentry.

This was the only time I did anything to do with delivering or receiving letters. I do not know if any letter was delivered or sent by any of our party, the first day after arrival. We all came together from the Punjab to Calcutta and thence here. We all intended to find service here. Police or other (Jungy naukree) Military service.

(Sd.) R.C. Evanson.

Abdoolah Khan, Sepoy 20th Regiment States :

I saw the prisoner (now before the Magistrate) throwing something over the wall of Ram Singh's enclosure. I was standing behind the house. He came from the main road, turned down towards the Sudder Bazar and passed the Sentry box in which I was. He then turned back and went behind the back wall. The door of the Sentry box was facing the house and the prisoner could not see me. I could see him through a hole in the side of the Sentry-box. It was raining at the time. I saw him going behind the wall and throwing something over it. I went to arrest him and he ran away but I caught him for he stopped when he saw my rifle and bayonet. The Naique came and I made over the prisoner to him and a small white parcel tied with red twine.

(Sd/-) R.C. Evanson.

Mahomed Shumsha, Naique 20th Regt. States :

The Punjabee who was arrested on the 28th by the sentry was made over to me by him, and a small parcel in white cloth. I gave it to the Sergeant of the Guard and he opened it. It contained two letters. These letters now shown me appear to be the ones I allude to. The Sergeant kept them for about one hour and then sent me in charge of the prisoner and the letters to the Police Station where I made them over to the Inspector (Browne).

(Sd/-) R.C. Evanson.

Confidential

No. 924

To : The Secretary to the Govt. of Punjab.

Sir,

In continuation of the correspondence ending with this Department endorsement No. 271 of the 10th March last, I am directed to forward a letter from the Offg. Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, submitting a copy of the proceedings of the Deputy Commissioner and Town Magistrate of Rangoon Town District in regard to the arrest one Nathana Singh for communicating with the Kooka state prisoner Ram Singh, and intimating that it is proposed to remove Ram Singh to Mergui.

2. I am to request that the Governor-General in Council may be favoured with any remarks which His Honour the Lieutt. Governor may wish to offer upon these papers, and that in the event the translation submitted by the Chief Commissioner being incorrect, correct translation may be re-submitted.

3. The original papers sent herewith should be returned with your reply.

I have etc.
Sd/-
Under Secretary.

Government of the Rangoon No. 480-S of the 20th September 1880

(Regarding the correspondence of Ram Singh the Kuka prisoner atRangoon).

On the 30th August last we forwarded to the Government of the Punjab for remarks a letter from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah submitting a copy of the proceedings of the Deputy Commissioner and Town Magistrate of Rangoon in regard to the arrest of one Nathana Singh for communicating with the Kuka State prisoner Ram Singh and intimating that it was proposed to remove Ram Singh to Mergui. We further asked that in the event of the translation of the communication from Ram Singh found with Nathana Singh being incorrect, a correct translation should be furnished.

In reply it is stated that the translation of the papers found on Nathana Singh were found on examination not to be very exact and a correct translation is now submitted.

The Lieutt. Governor considers that these papers are calculated to raise a shewing feeling against Government for keeping Ram Singh in confinement and to raise hopes of some miraculous deliverer who will enable the Guru to destroy the "*Miri*" and "*Piri*" i.e. the temporal and spiritual authorities of the time. His honor, therefore, agrees with the Chief Commissioner that Ram Singh should be sent to Mergui or some other place where access to him would be more difficult than at Rangoon. He also approves of the measures proposed by Mr. Bernard to be adopted on Ram Singh's transfer for preventing any intercourse with his people who may attempt to visit him.

The letter to the Punjab Govt. in linked file has not been issued, as this reply from the Punjab Govt. was received meanwhile. It is no use even to say anything about the translation of Ram Singh's communication. We may simply send a copy of the Dy. Commissioner's memorandum to the Punjab Government for information with reference to the present letter.

With reference to the letter from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah No. 433 R.S. dated the 13th ultimo, we may

send him a copy of the Punjab Government letter and the translation together with a copy of the Dy. Commissioner's memorandum.

Official Note

These papers may be forwarded demi-official to the Secretary to the Punjab Government with reference to our letter of the 30th ultimo for such remarks as the Lieutt. Governor may wish to offer on them. Meanwhile a copy should also be sent to the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah for such action as he may consider necessary.

Sd/-
16/9

Submits a memorandum by the Deputy Commissioner of Police Calcutta regarding the correspondence carried on by Ram Singh, the Kuka prisoner at Rangoon with his followers in the Punjab.

The translation furnished to us by the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah was harmless enough. Probably Assa Singh's version of the letters is coloured. But no doubt the Punjab Govt. will assure themselves that the communications conveyed no hidden meaning. Copy of this correspondence should be sent to the Punjab Government at once.

Perhaps H.G. would wish to see the case.

16-9-80

H.M. Sd -

Confidential

7th September, 1880.

Correspondence between Ram Singh Kuka and Kukas in Punjab.

On the 4th August 3 Sikhs arrived in Jalentha by Steamer "Pemba" from Rangoon. They could not give us satisfactory reason for their visit to Rangoon. They were suspected of being Kukas, and a full report was atonce forwarded to the Inspector General of Police, Punjab. The men left Calcutta by Rail for Allahabad that same night en route for their homes in the Punjab.

On the 16th August information was received from the Punjab Police Office that Mahant Hira Singh[1] a notorious Kuka, was absent on a visit to Ram Singh Kuka.

Watch was kept on the incoming steamers, and on the 1st instant 5 Punjabi Sikhs were found on Board of "Arabia". They gave false names and addresses but finally one of them admitted he was Hira Singh, and offered the police officer Rs. 200 to release him. Their names as finally ascertained are :—

1. Sahib Singh of Amritsar.
2. Hira Singh of Amballa.
3. Besakha Singh of Amritsar.
4. Phunda Singh of Amritsar.
5. Lal Singh of Ludhiana.

I detained them and telegraphed to Col. Bamfield and under his instructions, I forwarded them on the 3rd instant under escorts to Amballa. One of their members Besakha Singh said, that they had interviewed Ram Singh at Rangoon. Hira Singh denied this, and no further information could be obtained from them.

But it so happened, that on the 1st instant another party of Sikhs had come up to Calcutta by the China Steamer from Penang and by adroit questioning of these men at the

1. See *Kukas of Note in the Punjab*, p. 8. —Compiler.

Railway Station for the further particulars, were elicited regarding the proceedings of the Mahant Hira Singh and his four companions at Rangoon. It was learnt that Natha Singh, a Malwaic Kuka of Roots had been arrested by a European Warden in the act of receiving a letter from Nanoo Singh, Ram Singh's servant. One Rangoon officials, being unable to read the letter which was in Goormukhi character, selected Bhai Assa Singh one of the Sikhs, to translate it for them. Assa Singh admitted this, and informed my officer that two long letters in Guru Ram Singh's own handwriting had been made over to him.

He further explained to my officer that, though not himself a Kuka, yet for his countryman's sake he concealed the real meaning of the letters, and assured the Rangoon official that they contained no harm. There upon Natha Singh was released: Mahant Hira Singh had escaped to Moulmein on Natha Singh's arrest.

To both the truth of Assa Singh statement, he was questioned about the Gurus' confinements; his prison and guard. He described the building a double storied house built of logs of wood, with a guard at the entrance. Madras Sepoy by day and British soldiers at night. The sepoys are bribed by the Kukas to allow the Gurus' letter to pass in and out. When letters can be safely passed the following signal is exhibited. A pair of kutchs (Kukas dramers) are hiring out in the sun fastened to a rope. Assa Singh also recommend all intending Kuka visitors to make friends with the following prisoners.

(1). Lena Singh of Gujranwala, a constable in the Rangoon Police and (2) Punjab Singh of Amritsar with Survey Department living at Takur Bari.

Assa Singh further drew a rough sketch of the Guru's prison house and described the window at which he sits and receives visitors.

The five Kukas were carefully searched but no letters were found on them. After the flight to Moulmein it was not likely any document would be founded.

Khushal Singh, the Kuka Agent referred to Mr. Bernards' note of the 15th August 1879, was on the "Arabia" when Hira Singh and his party were ready to land. It will be best to remove him quietly from Calcutta.

The Kuka dresses worn by Hira Singh and his party were deposited for keeping with Khushal Singh.

I have been informed that there are similar agents at Moulmein :

1. Sham Singh a Chowkidar of Moulmein Church, and
2. Hurnam Singh a Policeman.

Lal Singh was taking home some clothes for Harnam Singh's sister.

I telegraphed to Rangoon, asking for the letters intercepted with Natha Singh and read by Assa Singh.

I am told that those letters have already been sent to the Home Secretary. If so, they will show how far Assa Singh has correctly stated their contents.

Sd/-
Dy. Commr. of Police.

Confidential No. 481-S

From :—W.M. Young, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To :—The Hon'ble C. Grant, Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Rev : and Agrl. Deptt.

Dated Simla, 20th September 1880.

Sir,

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 924 of 30th August forwarding certain papers from the Chief Commissioner of Burmah having reference to the Kuka prisoner Ram Singh.

2. The translation of the papers found on Nathana Singh, forwarded with your letter, were found on examination not to be very exact, and a correct translation is now submitted with this letter. **It is believed that the so called Nathana Singh is one Dhanna Singh of Gumti in Patiala, of which he calls himself an inhabitant in his statement before the Town Magistrate. One of his companions belonged to the village of Nathana Singh in Firozepore, and Dhanna Singh may have assumed the name of Nathana Singh, which is not known to be a Sikh name in consequence.**

3. The Lieutenant Governor considers that the communications from Ram Singh found on Nathana Singh are calculated to raise a strong feeling against Govt. for keeping Ram Singh in confinement, and to raise hopes of some miraculous deliverer and which will enable the Guru to destroy the '*Miri*' and '*Piri*' i.e. the temporal and spiritual authorities of the time. His Honor considers that every precaution should be taken to prevent such letters being sent by Ram Singh to the Punjab, and he, therefore, agrees with the Chief Commissioner in thinking that this prisoner should be sent to Mergui, some place where access to him is more difficult than at Rangoon. The measures proposed for this end by the Chief Commissioner appear to the Lieutenant Governor to be excellency and when carried into execution they will enable the authorities to punish at once all persons who are found communicating illegally with Ram Singh. The Lieutenant Governor does not consider that it is possible to punish persons who visit him, or convey letters to and from, when they reach the Punjab without straining the provisions of the existing law, and he has accordingly ordered the Kukas who were recently arrested at Calcutta on their return from Rangoon to be released.

4. The original papers forwarded with your letter are returned herewith.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

Sd/-

for Secretary to Govt. Punjab

———

Replies to letter No. 934 dated 30th August forwarding certain papers from the Chief Commissioner of Burmah having reference to the Kuka prisoner Ram Singh.

Translation of letters thrown out by Guru Ram Singh to Nathana Singh[1].

1st Letter

"By the mercy of God, the true Guru".

I, Dayal Singh, write to (praiseworthy) Sawan Singh, Harnam Singh, Harnam Singh II, Sobha Singh, Dhana Singh, Kirpal Singh and to the whole congregation. Accept my salutations (*Sri Vahiguru ji ki fateh*). To Mai bibi my *Ramsat* be communicated. I am in good health. May the Guru keep the whole congregation safe and in good health. This is my prayer to the Guru who does what he pleases. The grievances of those who have complained of them, will be removed. Bodily pains epilepsy, attack by evil spirits, injuries which men receive at the hands of others, starvation and destitution etc. will all be removed by "*bhajan*" to God. It has been ordered by the Guru that the name of God is the remedy for all diseases. To read "*bani*" and repeat the name of God is productive of ample reward. Get up when 1¼ *Pahar* of the night remains, bathe and read "*bhajan*", "*bani*" which should be repeated day and night, as work admits. Give alms according to your means and do not steal or pick up anybody's property. But without fail bathe at the last watch of the night, then hardships of all kinds will banish away. Let this be known to all.

Sawan Singh. In regard to your statement that the two flags were broken, I did not know whose flags they were and therefore I did not write to you. Only a few days ago, I was informed of the fact that the two standards of "*Miri and Piri*", had given way. The time of the removal of the former "*Miri and Piri*"

1. Gurmukhi translation of these letters may be seen at the end of this book. —Compiler.

has come. The Guru is *unfathomable*; he knows what is to happen, but it has so been decried by the Guru and consequently I have communicated it to you. There is no necessity for me to write out orders (*Hukmanama*). He who wants to see and obey them, should read the Guru's orders. It is useless simply to see them without obeying their contents. Two Garanths[1]; "100 Sakhis"; and "Parem Samarag" are the 'Hukmanamas' for all congregations and people of all castes and persuasions. I have also sent my orders for my congregation and they are at "Ramdaspur". He who wants to see them, can do so. My orders will be seen but not obeyed by many, some will like them but others will not derive any benefit from them. Give me names of all men and their residences. They are in difficulty. Convey my salutation to all. Communicate my orders about "*Bhajan, bani*" to all. He who bathes in the last watch of the night will be free from all pains. I suffered here very much and my body fluttered day and night but when I commenced bathing in the last watch of the night and reciting "*bhajan bani*", I regained my health. In his writings the Guru has alluded to the reward for those bathing in the last watch of the night. Whoever will obey the Guru's orders will be happy. Owing to disobedience of orders the Guru[2] conferred the hierarchy to Angad in preference to his own sons. Ram Dass a Khatri of another town, obtained the hierarchy in preference to Datu, Dasu, Mohri, and Mohan. Also the hand of the Guru's daughter. In short, it is useless to have "*Hukmanamas*" unless their contents are obeyed.

Now I shall relate the circumstances under which I forbid '*Singhs*' to come to this place. The congregation is my life and body. This is true and not false. The sentries with muskets are on watch over me and they have orders to arrest any man communicating with me and to intercept anything thrown from without or within. If a person were seen in the act of giving or receiving a slip of paper, the sentries would be imprisoned, whipped and dismissed the service and the messenger would be imprisoned and I might be sent to some miserable place where

1. Adh Granth and Dasam Granth.
2. Guru Nanak.

they would probably give me much trouble. They (the authorities) are great "*Malichhas*"[1] being merciless. On this account I forbid your coming to me. An interview cannot be obtained, and the trouble and expense of coming up here are great. If they permit you to pay me visits, you may come in parties of 100 men each. I wrote many times prohibiting people from coming to me or in the event of their being determined to visit me, I said that one or two individuals might come once a year. There is no need to write much on the subject. The Guru alone keeps our secrets, otherwise there is no help. In the obedience of orders there is happiness. The money which you spend in coming up here will be well spent in connection with "*Bhogs*" and "*Paths*". A large amount of money is spent to no purpose. Having been sent by the Khalsa I have come to this place. If the Khalsa wish to send me further on, they can do as they please. If they wish to do good, they should not talk of coming over here. Perform "*Bhajans*", "*Paths*" and "*Bhogs*" stead fastly. All things will then go on well. If I am the same individual as that referred to in Parem Samarag, Sakhis, Ram Mirgind and in the book discovered in "Paihlad Sagar", viz., the 12th incarnation, I will surely come to the country and destroy the "*Mir*" and "*Pir*". If I am not that man, why do you come over here ; there are hundreds of carpenters like me in the country. It would be a good thing if you would not come now. Perform as many "Bhajans", "Paths" and "Bhogs" as you can. In coming up, there is great trouble and expense and nothing is gained. I have told you what thought best. Do as you please, obey or disobey as you like. I have no knowledge when I will come down to the Country. The month, day or the place, I know not. Narain Singh[2] has left with me an extract from the book taken out from the tank Paihladsar which is to the effect that I will go to the country when war breaks out in the "*Manjha*". The Guru know as best. If the war breaks out, 25 of you should pray to the Guru as follows :—"Oh

1. A race who make no distinction between clean and unclean food.
2. Son of Dewa Singh of Rodah, Firozepur. *Kukas of Note in the Punjab*, p. 72. —Compiler.

Guru ! take us to the place which you deem fit for us to live in". The Guru will hear your prayers, and take you to the best place. I cannot make any suggestion. If I had been wise, I would not have been imprisoned. All of you deeply meditate. May God hlep all congregations. Oh Guru ! give us wisdom, we are thy servants. This letter is for 'Singhs'.

2nd Letter

"By the mercy of God, the true Guru".

I, Dyal Singh, write to Hari Singh and all congregations. Accept my salutations (*Siri Vahiguru ji ki fateh*). I am in good health. May the Guru keep all congregations in good health. Convey my '*Ramsat*' to bibi Nanda (Ram Singh's daughter).

Nanda wrote that, Basant Singh, boys did not obey her ; they would not read the Garanth or any other book. They should employ themselves in devotion in the last watch of the night and all day and night. In the event of their failing to do so, they should cook food or cut grass. If they decline to do either of the above, they should go out of my "*Dehra*" (House). Turn out from my "Dehra" all who are not engaged in devotion, also all those (whether males or females) who steal or do malpractices. Do not keep more oxen than you require. I have sent "*Hukmanamas*" to you for all congregations. Read them out to all men also to those who intend coming to me. Whoever asks you for a "Hukmanamas", give him a copy thereof. I cannot write for all having barely time to fulfil my daily devotions.

If they (Sikhs) are resolved to come to me, one or two should come after a year or ten months. If a woman comes, I shall be very angry. People have spent hundreds of Rupees for nothing. Here they don't allow anybody to stand near me or to speak to me. I do not constantly tell lies. If I do so, what good can you expect from me. The Guru keeps our secrets. Here many people are ill-disposed. Perform as many "Bhogs" and "Paths" as you can. It is a bad thing to waste money. Besides those who come here remain in fear, and nevertheless they do not turn

back. I do not hinder them from visiting me because I do not love my "Singhs" for "Singhs" are my body and soul and I write thus least they should get into trouble. They (the authorities) are "*malechhas*" and worthy of bleme. They arrest and put one in jail without any fault whatever. If the Guru is pleased to enable me to meet you, we will meet. Who is better to me than my Sikhs ? I pray day and night—"Oh Guru ! keep me while I live and let me die in the midst of my Sikhs who obey you". Sikhism consists of obedience to the Guru's orders. Without obedience nobody can be called a Sikh or a "*Sadh*",[1] no matter what garbs he may put on. It is the pith of all "*Shastras*" that a person gains nothing unless he obeys the Guru's orders. You will see that whoever has injured the Kukas will suffer much, since the Kukas come into existence by the Guru's orders and their complaints are now before the Guru. Convey my compliments to Hira Misr.[2] I heard that he had shaved his hair and beard. Without devotion no work prospers whether you shave or have long hair.

I send herewith Rs. 151/- in cash to be used in feeding the poor. Tell all who wish for their own welfare to be firmly employed in devotion (bhajan, bani). The Guru in the "Sakhis" has described the present age as very bad. He who does not remember God will undergo many difficulties. Prevent men from coming to me. None should come soon. Come a single man at a time and not two or four together.

Bibi Nanda ! continue steadily in your devotions. Ask them who heed your words to employ themselves similarly. Never mind if they do not listen to you.

Embark in the ship if she sails and don't go to Moulmein as they do not allow anybody to visit there.

---

1. A devotee.
2. A Brahman of Rampur, Police Station Duraha, in Patiala State.

Arrest of Meer Singh Kuka from Guru Ram Singh's Room

No. 477

To : The Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

Sir,

In continuation of this office letter No. 1158 dated the 27th October 1880, I am directed to forward copies of two communications from the Government of the Punjab marginally noted, the one described the circumstances under which two Kukas of Sirhali in the Amritsar district, obtained access to the kuka prisoner Ram Singh at Mergui, and the other reporting a large gathering of Kukas near Bhaini (the village of Ram Singh in Punjab), and also indicating the manner in which communications with Ram Singh were maintained.

No. 951 dt. 9th March 1881, and enclosures No. 1354 dt. 4th April 1881

2. Having regard to the facts disclosed in those communications, the Governor-General in Council desires to empress upon you the absolute necessity for taking such measures as will completely prevent all communications between Ram Singh and his adherents. I am to request that the Government may be informed at a very early date what further precautions you propose to take in order to attain the object in view.

No. 951

From :—W.M. Young, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Punjab
To :—The Hon'ble C. Grant, C.S. Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Rev : and Agrl : Deptt.

Dated Lahore, 9th March 1881.

Sir,

With reference to correspondence ending with your letter No. 1159 dated the 27th October 1880, I am desired to submit for the information of the Government of India, copy of a letter No. 176/35 dated 15th February from the Inspector General of Police, British Burmah, describing the circumstances under which two Kukas of Sirhali, in the Amritsar District, obtained access to the Kuka prisoner Ram Singh, at Mergui.

2. From information which has been received by this Government, it seems extremely probable that these two persons were the bearers of letters from Central Asia addressed to Ram Singh ; and as the contents of such letters are most probably of a character which would tend to foster excitement among the members of the Kuka Sect, the Lieutenant Governor regrets that the opportunity should have been afforded for their delivery. The transfer of Ram Singh to Mergui was arranged, so far as Sir Robert Egerton understands, with the object of more effectually preventing such communications ; and he, therefore, deems it necessary to bring to notice the present instance in which the precautions taken have proved insufficient. It is of the utmost importance that members of the Kuka Sect should be restrained from obtaining access to Ram Singh ; and the Lieutenant Governor hopes that every effort will be made by the Government of British Burmah to prevent such attempts being successful.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/-
for Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Copy of a letter No. 176/35 dated 15th February 1881, from the Inspector General of Police, British Burmah, to the Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

(Copy)

I have the honor to inform you that on 24th ultimo two Kukas giving names as Meer Singh aged 27, and Soond Singh aged 35, arrived at Mergui by P.S. "Tavoy" from Moulmein. Their arrival was at once reported to the Deputy Commissioner who questioned them. Meer Singh who appeared to be the leading spirit said that he had served sometime in the Hong-Kong Police, and he had left it about 18 months ago, and that he left Lahore about six weeks previous to his appearance in Mergui, in search of employment in the Police. This man spoke a little English.

The Deputy Commissioner advised them to leave the place as there was an order against enlisting men of his class in the police. They promised to leave next day. The guard over Ram Singh, composed of Burmans, was warned to be specially on the alert; and was visited late at night by an European Inspector; notwithstanding which, in the morning Meer Singh was found inside Ram Singh's enclosure. He was arrested and in company with his comrade Soondh Singh was sent to Moulmein for Commissioner's orders.

The Commissioner ordered their release and they left for Calcutta.

No. 1354

From :—W.M. Young, Esquire, Secretary to Govt. Punjab.

To :—The Hon'ble C. Grant C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Rev : & Agri : Deptt.

Dated Lahore, the 4th April 1881.

Sir,

I am desired to submit for the information of the Government of India copy of a report received in the Police

Department regarding a large gathering of Kukas near Bhaini[1], the village of Ram Singh, the late Kuka leader, and of Budh Singh Kuka, which was surprised by the Police ; and also of English translation of letters from Ram Singh which were discovered with Mussamat Attri at this gathering.

2. The Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor would draw the attention of the Government of India to the character of these letters, and would observe that the guard kept over Ram Singh at Mergui is not sufficiently strict.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- Cunningham,
for Secretary to Govt. of Punjab.

Translation of correspondence between Ram Singh, a Kuka prisoner and some of his followers.

LETTER FROM GURU RAM SINGH KUKA

(Note by Mr. C. Brown, Assistant to the Inspector General of Police, Punjab, Special Branch.)

SECRETARY.

As the subject of Kukas is just now before Government, I put up some notes on the letters from Guru Ram Singh which have, from time to time, been intercepted.

In August 1878, Mr. Warburton, District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, received from a Kuka named Ishar Singh[2] a copy of a letter from Ram Singh, which had been brought from Rangoon by Naina Singh.[3] A translation of this letter is attached (Marked "A").

1. Report of the large gathering has already been published in the 3rd vol. of *Guru Ram Singh and the Kooka Sikhs*, at pp. 391-400.
2. Ishar Singh had secret links with Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur. He was also an informer of the Police. Therefore, he was turned out of the Dehra Bhaini Sahib by Guru Hari Singh.
3. Sr. No. I, p. 88 of *Kukas of Note in the Punjab*.

—Compiler.

I would draw attention to :—

Page 2.

(a) Ram Singh says he is inspired when writing to the brethren.

(b) His study of the Sakhis during his imprisonment.

Page 3.

(a) The prophecies of Guru Govind Singh on the subject of disturbances in the year Sambat 1934 (A.D. 1878), and the fulfilment of the prophecies in the Russo-Turkish war, and the further distrubances which may be expected.

(b) Ram Singh's return may be expected when the *Sabz Sohavi*[1] (whisking of the broom, i.e., desturction of the present Government) occurs.

(c) Instructions to combine and strike in the best place when the disturbance, which is still distant, does occur.

(d) Kukas prohibited from taking service under Government.

(e) The fear of Government that the Kukas will deprive them of India.

(f) The sect reminded that the *choghattas* were overthrown by the Sikhs.

(g) Ram Singh's persecution by Government.

Page 4.

(a) Kine—killing.

(b) The saying that the Khalsa will rule again.

(c) The overthrow of the *Malaichh Panth* (unclean, beef-eating people) by a Muhammedan from the West who will protect the *Sant Khalsa* (Kukas).

(d) The time for the removal of the persecution of *Sadhs* and cows is at hand.

(e) If the knife is not removed from the throat of the cow, it will be unfortunate for the world.

1. Sabal Suri.

On the 9th September 1878, Mr. Warburton received from Ishar Singh part of another letter written by Ram Singh. It does not however, contain seditious language.

On the 19th October 1878, Ishar Singh gave Mr. Warburton three more of Ram Singh's letters. In the translation (Marked "B") please notice :

Page 5.

(a) Reference to the detection by Government of the visit of Naina Singh to Rangoon.

(b) The fear the British entertain for him (Ram Singh).

(c) His threat to repeat the doings of Sambat 1914 (A.D. 1857) if not released.

(d) Prophecy of Guru Govind Singh, there will be disturbances till Sambat 1940 (A.D. 1883-84).

Page 6.

Fulfilment of prophecies in :

(a) the coming of the English from the north.

(b) the appearance of the Kukas in 1278. (1860-61) A.D.

(c) the Maler Kotla disturbance and his (Ram Singh's) banishment in 1288=A.D. 1871-72.

(d) the destruction of graveyards and *marris* (urns or cairns).

(e) Sooner or latter they (i.e. the English) will be punished.

In July 1879, Mr. Warburton himself arrested a Kuka named Narain Singh[1] and on searching him found a number of letters from Ram Singh. A translation of these letters (Marked "C".) is attached.

Seditious passages occur at :

Page 9.

(a) Enquiries regarding a phenomenon which was noticed in the Ludhiana district in May.

(Note—A sound something like thunder was heard on the 11th May 1879)

(b) Reference to an enquiry by the sect as to whether he will re-appear as a Sadh or as a Raja. Says he is at present in confinement.

1. p. 72—*Kukas of Note in the Punjab.* —Compiler.

Page 10.

(c) In answer to an enquiry by the Sect as to the probable date of his return, he says "when the Malaichh are driven back to their own country."

Page 10.

(a) About the taxes levied on the *dehra* at Bhaini, Ludhiana district, (Bhaini is the native village of Guru Ram Singh and the head quarters of the sect).
(b) Kukas prohibited from taking service under Government.
(c) Enquiries if the Russians have appeared in any other direction besides Kabul.

Page 11.

(a) Do Rajas, Nihangs, &c. visit the Badh Tirath Tank ?
(b) Enquires if the prophecies sent to him had been copied out of the Pothis found in the Badh Tirath Tank.

Page 12.

(a) Enquires about the number of Panjabis killed in battle, and if the people mourned for them.
(b) Regarding the Peshwar railway.
(c) The strict watch kept on him, and the fear of the English.

Page 13.

(a) His deliverance from imprisonment at the hands of a brave Raja of Nepal.

Page 14.

(a) Enquires about the advance of the Russians towards Kabul.
(b) Are the English and the Russians at war with one another ?
(c) Enquiries about the Badh Tirath Tank.
(d) If the Russians have made peace with the English, who will recover Lahore ?
(e) Guru Govind Singh's prophecy about the year 1934.

(f) Enquiries about the Sirhind Canal.

(There is, I believe an idea that something will happen when water flows into the Sirhind Canal.)

Page 15.

(a) Fear of the English that his followers will drive them out of India.
(b) Great longing to return and meet his followers.
(c) Great fear of him entertained by the English.
"These Malaichh are unmerciful ; they will be taken in hand by the Guru."

Page-16.

(a) Discovery by the Malaichh of the visits of Kukas to him.
(b) The kindness of some of the sentries ; and the risks they incur.
(c) Kukas not to take service under Government. "The time for their destruction is at hand. This is not the time for service ; the present time is most unfavourable, so the Guru has written."

On the 19th August 1879, Mr. Warburton reported that he had recovered three letters from Mangal Singh Kuka[1] of Raian, Ludhiana.

The first letter contained particulars called for by Ram Singh regarding the phenomena noticed in May 1879 and further said that the prophecies which had been sent to him (Ram Singh) had been written by Narain Singh. The letter was evidently intended for despatch to Rangoon ; the second letter was apparently from one of the Kukas confined at Moulmein ; and the third letter was an order from Baba Budh Singh, of Bhaini (brother of Guru Ram Singh), to his camel drivers and cartmen. In it, Budh Singh was styled *Sri Guru Hari Singh ji.* (Hari Singh is a name for Baba Budh Singh).

*Serial 23, p. 22, *Kukas of Note in the Punjab.* —Compiler.

On the 28th July 1880, Dhana Singh of Gumti,[1] in the Nabha State, was arrested at Rangoon in the act of communicating with Guru Ram Singh, and two letters from the latter were found on him. In the annexed translation (Marked "D") of these letters, I would draw attention to :-

Page 17.

(a) The destruction of the flags of *Miri* and *Piri* (the temporal and spiritual power of the present time).

(b) The merciless conduct of the Malaichh.

(c) "If I am the individual referred to in the Prem Samarag, Sakhis, Ram Mirgind, and in the book discovered in the Paihlad Sagar (the Badh Tirath Tank), *i.e.* if I am the twelfth incarnation, I shall certainly return and destroy the *Mir* and *Pir*."

(d) "Narain Singh left with me an extract from the book found in the Paihlad Sagar (Badh Tirath Tank), which is to the effect that I shall return to the country when war breaks out in the Manjha."

Page 18.

(a) The authorities are Malaichh.

On the 19th March 1881, Mr. Warburton recovered from Mussammat Atri, of Misar-Khana, Patiala, the betrothed wife of Guru Ram Singh, a number of letters from the latter. At page 19, in the translation annexed (Marked "E") are questions regarding :

(a) The Kabul war.
(b) The advance of the Russians.
(c) War between English and Russia.
(d) Recruiting in the Punjab.
(e) The State of the crops.
(f) Impressment of carriage.
(g) The contingents of Patiala, Nabha and Jind.
(h) The Railway to Peshawar.
(i) The Sirhind Canal.

1. Dhana Singh told his false name Nathana Singh to the Burmah Jail authorities on his arrest. —Compiler.

(j) The free kitchen at Bhaini.

(k) The amount of grain stored at Bhaini.

Page 19.

(a) Ram Singh asks for particulars regarding the Sakhis recovered from the Paihlad Sagar (the Badh Tirath Tank) and enquires if the orthodox Sikh priests visit the tank.

(b) Whether Europeans were going towards Peshawar, or returning from that direction.

(c) Reference to some Manjha Sikhs in the Rangoon jail to whom his visitors, Bhagwan Singh and Sunder Singh of Kaleri, Karnal district,[1] were not to call upon, and to Sham Singh whom they were to see.

I attach Mr. Warburton's demi-official letters of 31st August 1878 and 19th July 1879.

In a letter (Marked "F") from Ram Singh, sent up by Sardar Atar Singh of Bhadaur,[2] great stress is laid on the necessity for visiting Sohawa, a shrine in Bikaner. There is a Sakhi about this place to the effect that when the *pipal tree* there overshadows the *jand tree* which grow near it, the Khalsa rule will recommence. The *jand* is now nearly hidden by the *pipal*. The Kukas consider that this indicates that their rule is about to commence.

1. Sunder Singh, son of Kharak Singh, of village Kaleri Police Station Badiadeh in the Karnal district, is by caste a jat and is about 45 years of age. In 1870 he was converted to Kukaism by Guru Ram Singh and immediately sold his land. Since then, he has been wandering about attending Kuka meetings in different parts of the country. He frequently visits Mussummat Atri of Khana, Patiala and is a man of influence amongst the sect. He attended the large secret meeting of Kukas held near Bhaini, Ludhiana district on the 17th March 1881, and was arrested and required to furnish security in the sum of Rs. 1,000 for one year.

2. Sardar Atar Singh was Chief of Bhadaur State. He offered his loyality to the British Government and worked against the Kuka Movement. Ishar Singh, who was turned out of the Dehra Bhaini Sahib by Guru Hari Singh, had secret links with him. During this time, Sardar Atar Singh was living in Bhadaur House at Ludhiana. —Compiler.

As I reported in November last, there is no definite plan traceable in these letters, yet the constant allusion to the prophecies regarding the disturbances in the year 34-40, the reference to kine-killing, the mention of the Russians, and the statement that he (Ram Singh) will return to his country when the Malaichh are driven out of it, are, I think intended to make the Kukas believe that the present is their opportunity.

C. BROWN,
Asstt. to Inspr. Genl. of Police, Punjab
Special Branch.

SIMLA,
Dated, 20th April 1881.

APPENDIX-A

Demi-official letter from J.P. Warburton, Esquire, District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, to Colonel H.N. Muller, Inspector General of Police Punjab, dated Ludhiana, 31st August 1878.

ISHAR SINGH, Kuka's illness prevented him for some days from going for Ram Singh's original letter. I have been expecting his return with the letter daily, and therefore, put off sending the copy. As the document is very important and I feel convicted it is genuine, I do not think it wise to detain it longer. So, I beg to enclose the letter which is in Ishar Singh's own hand-writing. Kindly have it read to you by a man well up in Gurmukhi, I am sure you will agree with me that the letter is really Ram Singh's production.

I think it my duty to point out that the Kukas are a source of political danger. Although at present they are comparatively few in numbers, I believe they are increasing, as proselytism is actively progressing. Ever since permission has been given for ten Kukas to visit Budh Singh at a time, Kukas from all parts come to Bhaini and put up in the neighbourhood and outside of Bhaini. At nights, meetings presided over by Budh Singh, are occasionally held secretly at a sort of shrine

near the village of Laltan, in Patiala territory. Their system of disseminating news or instructions amongst the sect is perfect. For example, four Kukas are despatched to the nearest Kukas villages in different directions, from each of which fresh parties, according attention, until the news has reached every village in which there is a Kuka. Their communications as rule are verbal, and they avoid taking any one into their confidence unless he is known personally to be a staunch Kuka. This is to guard against secret police agents disguised as Kukas. Our only chance of now getting reliable information is through real Kukas, if we can buy them over.

Ishar Singh was originally a Ramdasia Chamar. He and his father were great favourites in Ram Singh's time, and had charge of his stables. His father is still employed in the same capacity by Budh Singh. But Ishar Singh was turned out by Budh Singh some four or five years ago.

If this letter is, as I believe it to be, a true document, however absurd it might at first sight appear, it clearly discloses the ideas and tendencies of the Kuka leader in which I have no doubt all the members of the sect freely participate. Their present minority, coupled with the apparent hostile feeling of the orthodox Sikhs towards the Kukas, might be considered sufficient to deprive the latter of any political importance they might desire to assume. Yet I can say, from my experience of over six years, during which I have closely watched the doings of the Sect, that their present vitality; their insane zeal after the cause they have espoused; their unity and unremitting endeavours towards making fresh covers; the superior teachings of Ram Singh, mostly copied undoubtedly from our Scriptures, being disseminated amongst an ignorant people, the author of which lays pretensions to having introduced a purer form of religion; his openly declared predictions with regard to the speedy and entire annihilation of the English, and the early advent of the Kuka-Raj are all facts bearing considerable significance.

In the event of difficulties, or should we sustain any reverses hereafter in any war, these Kukas are certain to show their teeth. Our policy should be to disable them from now by every legitimate means, and render them completely incapable of doing mischief. If we were to lose ground and the Kukas were to rise, I am certain a large portion of ignorant agriculturists, and nearly all the ill-disposed, believing in the prophetic sayings of Ram Singh, would join the sect.

I am in hopes of securing further documentary evidence of Ram Singh's seditious teachings, who, I think, with all those who have participated in the offence, should be tried and transported, and their property confiscated. A vigorous measure of this kind is after all the best cure in the end, and is certain to prove more effectual in eradicating the seeds of dissension and disloyalty which seem to have taken deep root in the hearts of all Kukas. Special arrangements might be adopted to detect their seditious communications; and if necessary, on a fixed date, all Kukas throughout the province should be searched for arms and documents.

Mr. Wakefield, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, I know, is willing to adopt some of the restrictive measures of 1872-73, and he would even put a stop to Kukas visiting Bhaini so freely; but I believe, he thinks, Government will not support him. I however, hope my present representation, which duty has compelled me to make, will receive due consideration.

Translation of a letter in Gurumukhi, purporting to be written by Dial Singh (Dial Singh is a name for Guru Ram Singh, see para 25, page 4, Vol. III, Police Abstract) and Kirpal Singh.

To the entire body of Sikhs, greetings, in the name of the Wah Guru, and to all the mothers and sisters, kind rememberances.

We are all well and happy, and desire the welfare and happiness of all from the Great one. O Khalsa ! we have no

other discomfort, but the great discomfort of separation from the brethren (*sangat*). This affliction can only be removed by the Guru Sahib : when it pleases him to do so, he will do it in an-instant. News has been received of the entire congregation. All the letters written and all the presents sent, including rupees, clothes, two cups, and one janwar (representation of some animal in metal intended to hold antimony) have been safely received. The intelligence regarding the brethren afforded joy and consolation, and all the messages sent by them have been fully understood; also the names of all the villages sending them. They are not separately acknowledged, as doing so would require considerable length of paper, besides interfering with our devotions, for I am the only scribe. I have learnt that the brethren are very much distressed owing to their separation, therefore, O Khalsa! be firm in your morning worship of the Creator, and this and all other discomforts, will be removed. Be assured of this truth, for the Guru Sahib has said that ailments can be removed by the worship of the Creator. Continue fervent in reading God's word. *Nam* (mystical emblem of the Kukas) and *Bani* (word of God) have a close affinity to one another. Consider the power of the *Nam*. By the power of the *Nam* several thousand Bhogs, (ceremony of reading the Granth through) have been performed, and several thousand Sikhs have taken to reading the *Bani*. By (reading) the Bani the beauties of the "Nam" of God are discussed. In short, *Nam* and *Bani* are priceless treasures ; it is not possible to estimate their value. O Khala ! the Guru Sahib has been graciously pleased to confer upon you this Nam and Bani, therefore, be firm in reciting the Nam and Bani day and night, whether moving or working ; always strive to step forwards, never backwards. The present is the time for your amendment, as hereafter you will not again receive the present birth (i.e., the human form). O Khalsa ! at the time of birth and death all things having life suffer much pain, and, excepting the human race, no species of creation enjoy the privileges of *Nam*, *dan* (charity) and *ashnan* (ablution). This likewise is the order of the Guru, that all who forget the Nam of God in the present

birth, will never again obtain help, but their souls will continue to pass from one body into another and will become a worm of corruption. The Guru Sahib has thus spoken in praise of the Nam. All who recite the Name of God will inherit exaltation, joy, perpetual happiness and prosperity. The praises of the Nam are endless. What can I, a mortal, urge ? I can, but repeatedly write to the brethren that they should bathe early every morning; for it is the Guru Sahib's order that all brethren that they should bathe early every morning; for it is the Guru Sahib's order that all who rise in the third watch of the night and after bathing themselves (including the hair of the head) will receive a reward equal to that of giving strings of pearls in charity. And so in proportion as the hour of ablution is delayed, will the rewards of the act lessen in proportion to the order of charities, when likened to gold, silver, copper, grain, milk, or water. If the ablution is performed after the rising of the sun, it is no virtue, but simply a washing of the body. This illustration of the ceremony of ablution has been explained by the *Tenth Badshah Sahib* (Guru Gobind Singh) ; therefore it is incumbent to bathe at night as much as possible. And, O brethren of the Khalsa, read the *Granth Sahib* yourselves as often as you possibly can and get others to read it. If one cannot read fully and completely the *Granth Sahib*, then have it completed by two or four Sikhs ; do not make greater arrangements ; do not collect the Sikhs of other villages ; do your utmost to complete the *Bhog* with *Parshad* (halwa). Many Sikhs have written to say that they cannot commit to memory the *Bani* ; the Guru Sahib directed the learning of the *Bani*, whereupon the Sikh urged that he could not possibly learn it and would not be able to learn. The Guru Sahib told him to throw down a single stone at a time before him. That Sikh did as he was told, and in time succeeded in raising quite a mound. The Guru Ji then remarked to the Sikh that if, by depositing a single stone at a time, he had succeeded in raising a mound, where would be the difficulty in learning to read, if he acquired a single letter at a time ? That Sikh took the hint and commenced learning a letter at a time, until he succeeded in being able to

read. In like manner, O Khalsa ! all who learn one or two lines daily, will very soon have learnt several *Banis*. Be assured of this truth. Men and women, old and young, and all should commit the Bani to memory. All who recite the Bani and worship will continue in perfect comfort, prosperous in wealth, and healthy in body. The Guru will be their continuous help ; remain assured of this truth. The Bani is the *Gur-Mantar* (the word of power of the Guru). Without the *Gur-Mantar* man is likened to the pig, the dog, the ass, the snake ; for this reason I habitually impress upon you to commit the Bani to memory. I of my own self can write nothing ; before commencing my letter I with folded hands beseech the Guru to inspire me to write whatsoever is pleasing to him. Thus, it is the Guru who dictates while I write to the brethren ; otherwise where have I the knowledge ? If I had possessed knowledge, how would I have fallen into the prison of the *Malaichh* (unclean English). O Khalsa ! witness the doings and workings of the Creator, and see what he brings forth. Since my arrival here I have, through the grace of the *Guru Sahib*, divined many of the interpretations of the *Sakhis* (prophecies). Formerly, I devoted little attention to the Sakhis as I had no discomforts, and performed *Bhajan* (worship) *Bani* in comfort ; there was no scarcity of clothes or food or of the mercies of the Guru ji. I was happy. Now that I suffer discomfort, I have commenced to seek after the sayings of the Guru. When there is suffering, the physician is in request ; without suffering, the physician is not desired. On this principle, when I felt discomfort, I became an enquirer.

O Brethren ! the sayings in the Sakhis are all true. The true interpretations without the teaching of the Guru cannot be divined. Formerly, I was of opinion that Sikhs (not Kukas) and *Sadhs* entertained enmity and hatred towards us but, brethren, they likewise have the order of the Guru Ji, *geani, dehani, guni, dhanad, raja nam japat ghar ghar me adh* (theologists, prophets, believers, artisans, wealthy people and kings can all be estimated by their conduct in the worship of God). All who at every opportunity wrangle with those who recite the Nam are the accursed of some

previous birth, they are not accountable for their conduct ; it is all the doings of the Creator ; they babble whatever enters their minds. O Khalsa Ji ! it is thus recorded in the Sakhis-*Niat karat sat sant,* the interpretation of which is *sat aur sat chauda, bad-i-hu usme das sat, yane satran milae, to tetis baras hue* (7 and 7 equal 14, to which add 10 and 7 i.e. 17, then add 2 years more, which make 33 years). It is the Guru's order that in the beginning of the 34th year (3rd April 1878 corresponds with 1st *Chet* 1935), disturbances will commence, and revolutions will take place in the different countries. Consider O Khalsa, that disturbances have commenced in the 34th year (Russian and Turkish war). Hereafter all that have been predicted by the *Sacha Badshah Kalgiwala* (Guru Gobind Singh) will be fulfilled, rest assured of this. It is not necessary to write at length : you can understand for yourselves. All else predicted has reference to the ruin and destruction of the rulers, the signs of the times dating from the 34th year. Briefly, all the saying will be fulfilled. I always said that if anything transpired in 34, then all would come to pass. So as predicted, 34 has borne its fruits ; in the future look forward to the doings and workings of God, see what he will disclose. The brethren wrote enquiring when I would return. Khalsa Ji ! I will return at the *Sabal Suri,* that is, the whisking of the broom (intended to mean the destruction of the Government). O Brethren ! the Guru is omnipotent. His ways are known to himself. The brethren also enquired, in case of a disturbance where should they strike ? In case of a disturbance all should combine, and after mature consideration, strike in the most befitting place ; but the disturbance, at present is far removed just now, the fire is not in flames : wood and fuel are simply being collected. O Khalsa Ji ! be convicted that whoever perseveres in *Bani, Nam, Dan, Ashnan, Path* and *Bhog,* his labours will never go unrewarded, for the Guru Ji has said that the Almighty never permits any labour, even when compared with a til seed, to go unrewarded. Of this there is not doubt. O Khalsa if a relative dies, you should not mourn or grieve after him, but in keeping with your means perform, in the name of your departed relative, acts of charity, *Bhog, Path* and feeding and clothing of the brethren. Mourning

and grieving is rebellion against God, and a trouble of the body without any recommend. I have also heard that the person mourned for is occasioned grief; the droppings from the eyes and noses of the mourners fall upon the soul of the departed, and make him cry out "O God, may some other of the mourners die, it will be well, in order that I may rest in peace." Such being the case, no person derives any benefit or comfort or communion with God, and consequently, mourning should never be indulged in. O Khalsa, after performing Bhajan and repeating the Bani, stand before the Guru Sahib, with scarfs round your necks, and in abject submission, with folded hands pray for *Gurmat* (teachings of the Guru), *Sidah* (sincerity) and faith in the virtues of *Nam* and *Dan*. The result to be left in the hands of the Guru, who will act in keeping with his will. O Khalsa ! we shall not always be surrounded by hornets ; it is only for a time, which will soon pass away. It is not known what enormity of sin the Guru has removed by subjecting me to a brief term of discomfort. Of this I am fully convinced. O brothers Naina Singh, Bhagwan Singh and Nidhan Singh (name assumed by Hamir Singh (Saini) Kuka of village Durgapur, Police Station Rohon, Jallandhar district), this letter is intended for all the *sangat* (brethren) ; and read and explain it to all—to all the brethren throughout the country. All who accept the truths of this letter, it will be well for them, rest assured. O brethren of the Khalsa Ji, I have personally experienced all things affecting *Bhajan*, *Bani*, and therefore write to you. Some sin of my own has brought me here. This is a place of great discomfort. But I performed a very little *Bhajan*, *Bani*, simply for the name of the thing, yet it was the means of saving me from all ills. Those who resort to the protection of God, invariably obtain it. O Brethren this letter I have written for all, for all countries ; read it to all. Wherever you go, and to all visiting you, explain and read it. Prepare two or four copies of it and circulate it as you think proper, or prepares as many copies as you please, but Naina Singh considered it advisable for him to retain this letter, as he could not write. O brother Naina Singh ! you retain this letter, but visit several places and

show it, particularly at Lahore and Amritsar : convey it with great care, but avoid placing it against the person, for fear of its being damaged from perspiration. O Brethren do none of you continue in their service (i.e. the English) ; if any do they will suffer many hardships. "Several orders of the Guru Sahib exist for killing them." (the English ; this passage is very ambliguous in the original). The Guru Sahib knows best. If you write any letter to me, write plainly, for some of the letters received are very incorrectly written, and they cannot be understood. Do your utmost to help the brethren, even those who are slanderers, for the slanderer and the faithful will each receive his appropriate reward. You should live at peace with all. These *Billias* (cats, i.e., English rulers) have been duped into the belief (by the better classes) that the Kukas will deprive them of their *raj* (rule) just as the *Choghattas* were deprived of their kingdom. These are the same Sikhs. Influenced by such tales they (the English) are persecuting us. I had no intention of ever forcibly taking anything, even to a blade of grass. Only then, as at present, I certainly did feel pity for the cows ; for they possess many good qualities, and nothing evil. You can understand this. May the Guru Sahib pardon the shortcomings of the writer Nanu Singh, (not in printed list. This man is the Guru's servant and is confined with him).

O Khalsa ! listen to another saying regarding the troubles of the world, *khal khelak khis is, Mus, Hindu, khalk pis dekhaon dip. Turk que, moe mudian, moe jagio Khalsa mit.* Which means that the people of God residing in cities, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, will suffer oppression. The Turks will die out, owing to their own apathy, and the Khalsa will awake from their dreams.

O brother Dya Singh (false name for Budh Singh, who is also called Hari Singh), that time has arrived—the time alluded to above. The Guru is omnipotent ; his works are best known to him. Rulers and subjects will all be ground to powder like flour ; if not like flour, most certainly like *dalia* (crushed grain). For the protection of *Sant Khalsa*, a Muhammadan will appear from the west and collect all and eradicate the *Malaichh Panth*

(unclean sect). So we are the *Sant Khalsa*, and we have suffered much and the times are ominous. His protection of the *Sant Khalsa*, has been foretold, and no doubt such will be the case. O brethren of the Khalsa ! make use of undefiled food and drink, and do not accept of food or drink from the hands of an unclean. O brethren it is the order of the *Tenth Badshah* (Guru Gobind Singh) that eating with a person whose tenets of belief are not known, or who does not practise the *Gur-Mantar* (mystic sectarian whisper), results in estranging the afflictions from God. Do not presume to think that I am seated in exile (*kala-pani*) and amusing myself writing hieroglyphica. I write for the good of all. The time for the removal of persecutions of *sadhs* and kine has arrived. Believing this, be assured. The ceremony of the *Akhand Path* (reading of the *Granth* from the beginning to the end without cessation) should be performed in this manner ; first purify the place with mudwash, not with cow dung ; the floor-cloth or carpet should be washed, as well as the coverings and stool of the *Granth*. All coloured cloths to be removed ; the cloth cover stitched on to the binding of the Granth to be washed likewise. The readers to wash and clean their clothes, after which they must abstain from touching others. If they wish to pass urine, they must take water in a vessel and purify themselves. The vessel thus made use of to be kept quite separate. After passing urine, he must wash his hands and feet, and gargle his mouth three or four times. The place purified for the reading of the Granth must not be entered by any outsider ; if any should enter, they must sit perfectly and not talk. A lamp of *ghi* to be retained burning all the time the *Akhand Path* ceremony continues, concluding with the *Hom* (incense offering). The person performing the *Hom* must not speak, but he should keep reciting the *japji* (the first book of the Adh Granth), dropping the *akhand ahuti* (incense) on to the fire at the end of each verse ; and each time of dropping the incense he should make use of the words "*Sri Wah Guru*". At night two lamps of oil and one of *ghi* should be made use of during the ceremony. At night after attending to the calls of nature, the entire body, including the hair of the head, should be bathed and cotton clothes, worn at the time of attending

calls of nature, should be washed. Four readers, four incense-burners and four others should be present as attendents. The reading of the *Granth Sahib* in this manner is most beneficial. After the *Bhog*, the *Ardas* (prayer for special blessing) should be offered in all humility for personal safety and protection. The *Akhand Bhog* should invariably be performed in the manner described. It cannot be performed to perfection without the help of twelve persons, but if any choose to deviate from these instructions, they are at liberty to do so. But brothers (name omitted) Singh and Savegh Singh, do you always insist upon the *Akhand Path* being performed in the manner described. With reference to your enquiry regarding *Paths*, each person should perform twenty-five Paths, not less. If means will admit of the expense, the *Hom* and the lamp of *ghi* are desirable. At the beginning and the close of the Path, incense should be burned, and the book should be read with care. The reader should wash his clothes, and bathe himself after attending to the calls of nature, and wash his person after passing urine. The vessel made use of for such purposes should be kept clean, but quite aloof from other vessels. After passing urine, the feet should be washed and the mouth gargled with water three times. The reader should turn his face on alternative days to the north and south, and he should abstain from speaking ; if he does speak while reading, he should freshen his mouth with water. A cup of water should be alongside of him. All should keep silant. After offering the *Ardas*, the persons present should continue seated, until the conclusion of the *Bhog*. But consider for yourselves, you are intelligent and can consult others who are well informed. Had I been wise, why would I now be in prison ? Humility should be practised in the presence of the Guru, and prayers should be offered to God that he should do as seems good to him. My knowledge is defective. The Guru is ever with me. This (sect) alone is the true *Sant Khalsa*. I am fully convinced that their slanderers will incur the anger of the Guru, who will now take under his protection the Sant Khalsa. It is truely written that God is not a far off. Raise your lamentations day and night. Continue fervent in spirit and the Guru will hear you. Mortals can but cry. He alone can hear and

answer. If the knife is not early removed from off the neck of the cow, it will be unfortunate for the world.

The letter to reach Samand Singh.

APPENDIX—B

Translations of letters from Ram Singh given to Mr. Warburton by Ishar Singh on the 19th October 1878.

To Samand Singh[1], Sirmukh Singh[2] and Gurdit Singh[3].

After Compliments—Your conduct is praise-worthy, inasmuch as you have travelled a great distance and have crossed the sea in order to pay me a visit. You have performed the duties of Sikhs, but I have not at all acted the part of a Guru. The state of things here is as follows :—

Naina Singh arrived here some time ago, and I gave him a letter. He made several copies of it and openly distributed them among the people. This information reached the British Authorities. The Amritsar authorities reported the matter to the Government and the facts were communicated to the officers here, pointing out the defective arrangements in regard to the watch kept on me. A '*Bara Sahib*' of this place enquired of me if Naina Singh had paid me a visit, and if I had given him a letter. I denied, upon which he told me that, according to the orders he had received from Government, I should have to move to a jail or to another island. I expressed my willingness to go to any place which the Government might choose for my abode. Nothing has since been transpired, and I am still here. Let us see what the Guru will do. The Government has greatly blamed the authorities here. Up to the present they have not been able to intercept any of our communications or to catch our messengers, but now they keep a careful look out. The

1. Son of Sadha Singh, village Khoteh in Firozpur district.
2. Of village Lalluwalla, Police Station Bhiki, in Patiala territory.
3. Of village Khana-ka-Lahru, Police Station Nathana, Firozpur district.

Guru alone is *'parda kaje'* (screener of our short comings). Should they succeed in intercepting our letters, they will imprison the men carrying them, and in that case they may send me to another island (I know not to which island).

They entertain very great fear for my person, although I have done them no wrong. If I happen to remain here, I will repeat the doings of the year 1914 Hindu era (corresponding to A.D., 1857). The English are afraid lest I should send seditious letters to my people, and they fear me as one fears death ; consequently they do not permit the people to come and see me. I am comfortable here in every respect, the place being well ventilated and containing ample accommodation for me. I bath and perform *bhajan bani* (devotion) very conveniently. The only and heavy affliction is that of separation from the congregation. The Guru when he chooses to do so will at once remove that affliction. The congregation have done a great favour in performing so many Bhogs and Paths for my sake. Samand Singh, I cannot adequately express my deep sincere obligation to you for having performed Bhogs and Paths for my sake. It was the will of the Guru that the Sikhs would undergo great troubles, which is now being fulfilled. It is Guru's will that the rulers and the people should hold us in (torn)[1] and that we should bear their insults patiently. It is strange that the priests of Damdama temple objected on several occasions to admit my followers into the trouble. Do not bring any letters from Murmai (Moulmein) as it is with much difficult that I can receive them. When passing in front of my residence, just give the news of your welfare. Always sit under the same mango tree. Come to me when I wave my sheet and do not stand but just pass on, there is no danger even if you do so twenty times a day. After you have thoroughly understood the contents of this letter, wash it with water. You should carefully attend to these instructions. God will soon put an end to the present time of affliction. I have thoroughly understood the contents of the letters brought by you. The Guru has foretold that there will be disturbances till the year 1940 Hindu era (A.D. 1883). The good and bad alike have resolved on committing oppressions and cruelties. The time is at hand ; let us see what the Guru brings about.

1. Trouble ?

Brethren, the Guru's works are wonderful. Some praise me, while others are my mortal enemies. God knows who are wise and who are foolish people. Tappa[1] had determined to kill me while sitting alone, having accused me of reading the *Kalam* (the Muhammadan creed) and misleading the Sikhs. But he eventually gave up the idea of taking my life. The people have become blind and deaf, inasmuch as they believe that, by the influence of the *Kalam*, I have made the Sikhs to wear *Kachhs* (short drawers). They have no eyes to see for themselves and they will not hear me. But they cannot help it, for it is the Guru's order that excepting the *Sant Khalsa* (Kukas) all other will follow the *Malaichh*, consequently, all have become like cats. The time is at hand when the *Malaichh* will perish. The Guru knows the secrets. Since my arrival here, by the grace of God, I have thoroughly looked into the explanations of the *Sakhis* (Prophecies). In accordance with your desire, I have written many letters ; but to deliver them to you or to receive some from you a very difficult. The practice of writing to each other should be discontinued, as it is dangerous to all parties concerned, including the sentries on duty. You should simply pay me visits.

Give my compliments to the following persons :—

Hari Singh,[2] , Khushal Singh, Sunder Singh of Kaleri, Sunder Singh of Khoteh,[3] Bhai Harnam Singh of Suchala,[4] Mani Singh,[5] Sirdar Mangal Singh,[6] Uttam Singh of Raisar,[7] Gurbakhsh Singh,[8] Kahn Singh of Baja,[9] Jetha Singh[10] and Lal Singh of Gumti,[11] Punjab Singh of Joga,[12] Jiwan Singh and

1. A Nihang named Tappa Singh who at one time intended to kill Guru Ram Singh
2. Guru Hari Singh ji
3. Related to Samand Singh of villaga Khoteh, Firozpur district.
4. The lame Harnam Singh, Jat, a wandering Kuka.
5. Uncle or cusion of Mussammat Atree. He visited Guru Ram Singh in 1873 or 1875.
6. Serial 139, page 68—*Kukas of Note in the Punjab*.
7. Serial 142, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, .
8. Serial 9, page 76— ,, ,, ,, ,, .
9. Serial 16, page 80— ,, ,, ,, ,, .
10. Of Jaitho, Nabha State.
11. Subha of Gumti, Nabha State, father of Dhana Singh.
12. Suba of Joga, Thana-Bhiki in Patiala.

—Compiler

Harnam Singh,[1] Mehr Singh of Ubab, two Singhs[2] of Akliwala and others of the villages of Pitho and Muketsar. I have not sufficient space to write all names, so convey my compliments to all members of the congregations. Inform them all that I am well but am greatly grieved on account of separation from my people. The Guru will remove this grievance when he chooses to do so. I am delighted to hear the news of the welfare of different congregations and to learn that they also are afflicted on account of my separation from them. Khalsa ji, you should believe in the Guru, who can avert all evils.

————

To Daya Singh (False name for Budh Singh)

News of the Sangat has reached me, and I acknowledge the compliments of the male and female members of it. I have noted the names and residences of all persons who have subscribed money for charitable purposes. For brevity's sake, I do not give their names here. Tell Mangal Singh not to eat meat or to drink liquor. Nobody who has partaken of such things has become immortal. The Guru had foretold that we should suffer much. Guru Nanak, in his discussion with Ajita, caste Randhawa, remarked that the people would be disgraced like a man mounting an ass. The Rajas and others have been our bitter enemies. The following are the accursed of the 10th Guru; *Rajas*, *Sahukars*, *Granthis*, *Pujaris*, *Nihangs*, *Nirmalas*, *Udasis* and *Brahmins*. They brought false accusations against us, and charged me with having taught the doctrines of *Kalam* to my people. I wonder what influences of the *Kalam* did they observe. They are enemies of God, they made strenuous efforts and are even now trying to persuade people not to follow the path of God directed by me, but without success. Their faces will be blackened in both worlds. Read this letter to Sikhs at Rurki,[3] particularly the portion regarding the Nihangs etc. as they are disobedient to the Guru. Daya Singh you should be firm in your belief, and you should

1. Of Thana Bhikhi in Patiala, the father of four active Kukas.
2. Ram Singh and Kalla Singh, brothers of Akliwala, thana Jaitho Nabha State.
3. Rurki is a village near Ambala, Nannu Singh attendant of Guru Ram Singh, belongs to it. —Compiler

not pay any regard to the words of the Nihangs if they use abusive language. You should calmly repeat the name of the Guru. Continue to perform the *Akhand Path* according to my instructions which I sent before. The readers should be supplied with good food. On the day of the *bhog*, five extra Sikhs should also be fed with good food, such as *karah parshad* (flour, ghi and sugar mixed together), *Khir*, *dal*, rice &c. The walls of the place where the *path* is to be performed should be cleaned. Do not sell your landed property, but bear patiently the ill-treatment you experience at the hands of the rulers. Perform *Bhajan* and *Bani* and pray to the Guru, who is capable of removing all difficulties. Teach your children and do not kill your infant girls as infanticide is a great sin. Excommunicate those who are cruel enough to put their children to death. Direct people not to take money in consideration of giving their daughters in marriage and not to exchange girls in marriages. The loan taken on occasions of weddings should be repaid with thanks. The people who do not liquidate their debts will some day reap affliction. All persons should, as far as possible, learn the bani by heart, and be kind to every one, even if he be an enemy or a follower of a different religion. Look to God and see what wonders he performs. Perform as many *homs*, *japs* and *bhog paths* as you can. See that you read from a correct manuscript (and not printed) copy of the Granth. Read this letter secretly to the people and preserve it as a secret paper. Give my compliments to *Sahukar*[1] and tell him to worship and give alms, explaining to him that riches do not go with a man when he dies, and that charity is the only advantage which one can derive from his wealth. Bhai Khushal Singh,[2] you are worthy of all praise. The Guru has vouchsafed to you knowledge of the right path. May the Guru always help the sangat.

1. Refers probably to Buta Singh.
   Serial No. 4, p, 96—*Kukas of Note in the Punjab.*
2. Khushal Singh s/o Karam Singh, village Therajwala Distict Sirsa was arrested by Mr. J.P. Warburton, Supdt. Police, Sahnewal along with 38 Kukas gathered in the Dhak Jungle near Bhaini Sahib and charged under Section 504, 505 C.P. Code Act-X of 1872.

—Compiler.

The Sangat has not suffered although it has been badly treated, but maltreaters will eventually reap affliction. Read and believe in the Granth which is the greatest of the Gurdwaras. Do not go where you are ill-treated. If the Guru is resolved to take us to the Gurdwaras, we will go; but if not, we must submit to the will of the Guru. They (the orthodox Sikh priests) are caused by the Guru and, consequently, cannot help abusing us. They are blind and deaf, and they will meet with the same fate as a dog which is shut up in a glass room, and which barks in vain till at last he dies. Such is the will of God. Repeat the name of the Guru and rely on the will of the Almighty. Refer to the book Prem Samarag which is the foundation of the Sant Khalsa. If anybody asks you about me, deny that you know me and say that you are natives of different country, and that you have arrived here to seek employment, there being a famine in your own country. Go to Murmai (Moulmein) and visit Jawahir Singh. If you all three cannot go to see him, Bhai Samand Singh should certainly visit Jawahir Singh. There is no prohibition in paying him a visit. The place of his residence is called "Chantan". Give him my best compliments when you see him. Tell Lakha Singh[1] that Thakar Singh[2] wants all his jewellery and clothes; also tell him that his letter has reached Rangoon. I do not give any letters this time, as they (the English) are on the look out to intercept my letters. On searching the person of a native, if a letter were found on him, they would probably imprison him for a year or two, and at the same time send me to a more remote island or country and so I might be altogether deprived of your visits. Tell Budh Singh to warn the people against visiting me for a year, as the sentries have been ordered to arrest anybody found conversing or standing in front of me. Some of the sentries are lenient,

1. Son of Ram Singh, resident of village Malpura, Police Station Bahon, Jallandhar district. This man was a leading Suba and was deported with Guru Ram Singh. He is now in the Moulmein Jail. He was employed in the Sherdil Regiment and subsequently in the Jallandhar constabulary.
2. Caste Chimba, of village Sadhaura, Amballa district. Is and has been for years at Baini to Baba Budh Singh's attendant.

while others make indiscriminate arrests; hence I prohibit the people from paying me visits. When I see my Sikhs, I receive as it were a new life, but should one of them be apprehended, my affliction would be doubled.

Order the Sangat to steadily employ their time in devotion. It is the order of the Guru that we should constantly pray to God, as our prayers will eventually be heard. Refer to my previous letters, which should be acted on otherwise they are useless.

Give my best compliments to the Khalsa.

APPENDIX—C

Demi-official letter from J.P. Warburton, Esquire, District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, to Colonel J.C.P. Baillie, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Ambala Circle, dated Jagraon, 19th July 1879.

I HAVE very good news to give you. Yesterday on my way to Jagraon I met a suspicious looking Kuka and at once examined him very carefully. As soon as he told me that his name was Narain Singh, a resident of village Rodah, Police Station Bagahpurana, district Firozpur, the idea struck me that he might be one of the two men reported by me in May last as having been deputed by Budh Singh to search for Ram Singh, and I lost no time in searching him, and to my intense delight I found a number of Ram Singh's original letters, the contents of which afford unmistakable evidence of the bearer (Narain Singh) having just returned after paying him a visit. Some of the documents are most important. In most, false names have been assumed. Seditious teaching, exciting ill-feeling against us; asking for news about the Russians, Afghans and English; wishing to know if it is true that the English have made peace with Kabul; interdicting his followers from taking service with us; wishing to know if many Punjabis were killed in the recent Afghan war, and whether there had been much weeping and mourning for them; making particular enquiries about the

Badh Tirath tank; whether it is resorted to by Rajas and swell fakirs and if the copies of the prophecies Narain Singh had delivered to him were genuine and taken from the Pothi recovered from the Badh Tirath tank, or merely an invention; enquiring if the Russians and English had declared peace; if so, he looked upon it as a great calamity, but adding that this could not be the case, as Lahore must be recovered according to the Guru's word in 34 years time, reckoning from the year it was taken by the English, and some of the most prominent subjects discussed in this voluminous correspondence, which I think, covers some 18 or 19 pieces of paper, large and small. Having seen Ram Singh's writing before, I am more satisfied that these are also in his handwriting. But if more proof were wanted, it is forthcoming in such form as will satisfy the most exacting judge. For example :—

One letter is written on a bit of paper which apparently formed the outer cover of a packet of powders, prescribed by the Doctor who attends Ram Singh, and bears the following in English :—

"STATE PRISONER"

"One powder to be taken three times a day"
"For Ram Singh"

A second letter has the word "arrowroot" on it in English, written evidenly by the same person who prescribed the powders. And in this paper, arrowroot must have been sent for the prisoner's use when he was ailing.

The fourth shows on one side a printed form in English, such as are used for prisoners admitted into the Jail hospital, and gives the following particulars :—

Name—Naga Kyo
Age—20.
Jail Register—No. 5992.
Date of admission—29th October 1878.

Case and symptoms, prescription and diet are given in pencil and cannot be made out.

Date of discharge—12th December 1878.

It will be easy to ascertain who this prisoner Naga Kyo is, and if he is in the same place where Ram Singh is at present confined.

A fifth paper has, on one side, part of a printed Commissiriat form of tenders of contracts and their conditions, and at the foot bears the following in print :—

"By order of the Commissary-General
(Sd/-) J. McMULLIN, Major,
Assistant Commissary-General.

I think it will be easy to prove from these five papers that they were brought from the place where Ram Singh is imprisoned.

I have arrested Narain Singh as a vagrant and suspicious character, under Sections 504 and 505 of Criminal Procedure Code, and will await the Inspector General's instructions. Meanwhile, I am endeavouring to persuade Narain Singh to speak out. If he would only do so, what a mass of valuable information we might get out of him; but I am by no means sanguine of success. I have, however, taken the precaution of having the papers recovered witnessed properly, and Narain Singh has admitted in his statement before the *tahsildar* (magistrate) that they were found in his possession; beyond this he declines to give any other information or explanation. I considered it necessary to adopt these precautionary measures, as the Government might feel disposed either to put Ram Singh, or Narain Singh or both, on their trial with reference to these seditious documens.

Kindly send this on after perusal to the Inspector General and ask him to kindly return this or send a copy of it to me, as I am hard at work translating these Gurmukhi letters and have no time to take a copy. I should also be glad to receive some instructions for my future guidance with reference to this matter.

This Narain Singh whom I have arrested is the identical Narain Singh mentioned in my confidential diary for week ending 31st May 1879.

Translation of Paper No. 1

I am like unto a mazkuri (Peon), and brother you have done well for the langer, as it only needed a small well. A large well, adapted for a *charas* (water lifter) to supply water to the Ramsar tank is required. When the Guru ordains it, have one built. These people behaved badly by not allowing the cremation of our father at the tank.

If the people really objected to the burning of bodies at the tank, how is it that they have allowed bodies to be burnt there? Our father was a good man. A blind man, who in his lifetime was considered a great evil, was burnt there; he was several degrees worse than our father; and if the people did not fear (his ghost) why should they have feared that of our father who was a good man? But they have no excuse for their objection. Brother, do this present Sarup Singh,[1] *Sadh* of Badlah, with a mare from the dehra, even if she is a small animal. He was given one before with a sore back and took great care of the animal, but did not use her once. He is a good Sadh, always devoted to prayers. Also give him my salutations. Give this letter in the dehra to Hari Singh.

And brother, all the sangat are requsted to commit prayers to memory and to bathe at the last watch of the night, both women and men, and to be always employed in prayers, whether sitting or standing. When at leisure from ordinary duties, sit apart and pray. Should you have no time available for this purpose, pray whilst you are at work. Give food, drink, and clothing as much as you can to the poor and hungry. Educate your boys and girls and on all occasions offer supplications to the Guru in these words. "O Guru ! protect me from the faithless and the apostate. I am always liable to err; mercifully pardon me." Have as many bhogs (recitation of the Granth) as you possibly can, and all must assemble at night at the Diwan and learn prayers.

1. This man is a Kuka and resides in village Badlah, Police Station Khanna.

Translation of Paper No. 2

Visit Mannu Lal's house at No. 12 Chauki in Haswa-Nagar. (*Chauki baran upar Haswa Nagar, Mannu Lal de makan jana.*).

Translation of Paper No. 3

There is only one God ; this I know by the grace of the true Guru. Dial Singh* and Kripal Singh** write to all the Sangat (Kuka) viz. to those of *Malva, Majah, Derps* (country beyond the Ravi) *Duabah,, Main Duab* (country beyond the rivers Sutlej and Jamna) and desire them to accept their salutations, *Ramsat* to all women and girls. We are well and happy. May the Guru keep you well and happy ; this is our prayer to the Guru with whom the bestowal of such blessings rests. Brother, in every other respect we are happy ; there is only the one pain of our separation from the Sangat, and I know that the Sangat is also suffering from this great pain. The removal of this pain is in the hands of the Guru whom he chooses, he will forthwith remove it. The Guru has not inflicted this pain on us; it is due to our own deeds. Taking God's name is good, as he is always ready to forgive; you ought therefore, to pray to him, both night and day. And what is one pain ? He will remove all our troubles. Believe this to be true. These are my words and also the Guru's orders that the cure for all diseases is God's name alone. This is also the Guru's command ; "*Chet-Chinthamai* (Remember the Remover of Pain) ; so, brother, God's name is 'Chinthamai,' and continue taking God's name with all your strength as all our belongings are derived from it. The Guru has also said that taking God's name constitutes the reasoning powers of the Sikh sect. Brother, I searched in vain for comfort everywhere and took to several occupations for this purpose ; but when I got under the Guru's protection, I found every comfort. You are acquainted with the past and present state of the *dehra* (Bhaini) ; my house merely consisted of one room having two beams or three divisions in the roof. Taking my house an example, you will realize the actual state

*A name for Guru Ram Singh

**A name for Nanu Singh, personal attendant with Guru Ram Singh.

of my circumstances at that time. Although this is not a good place, by the blessing of God's name I am very happy here and well off. The Guru is so merciful that if anyone place himself under his protection, he will remember none of his sins, and will confer every confort on him. He is so merciful. Hence, brother, always take the name of the Guru. Believe what I have written. None of you must say, "He is himself imprisoned and tells us to worship." Prisoners are of course badly off, but as for myself I have been protected from the hot winds. The Guru is great. Brother, you wrote to say that a sound like thunder was heard in the sky.[1] In my opinion that is a token of the wrath of God and that the world is about to be visited by some calamity ; the future is in the hands of God. And Narain Singh tells me that you all desire to know in what form, whether as a Raja or as a Sadh, I am to appear. My rising and my sitting are not in my power. I shall rise in such state as the Guru desires me to do. At present I am sitting in confinement. Continue to watch the manifestations of the Guru.

Translation of Paper No. 4

And you wrote : "When will you come to this country ?" I can only say that this will occur according to the Guru's writings. That is, when the *Malaichh* after their defeat retreat to the *madar des**, then this body will return to its native country. By *madar des* I mean Ludhiana. Rely on this word. And you also asked where you should retreat to during the disturbance. At present do not go in any direction. When the Malaichh on their retreat from the west, arrive at *Lahu-maharaj-ka-pura* (*Lahore*), then all the wise men of the sect should collect, and after consultation fix on some suitable spot where you can pass your time and pray thus humbly to the Guru. "O true King ! remove us from these dangers to some place of safity." The result will be to your advantage, as the Guru can accomplish everything. He can preserve you in burning fire ; this has been

*Probably intended for mother-country.

1. This phenomenon was noticed in May 1879 in the Ludhiana district.

handed down from age to age. And brother, when, any sick person visits you, give him orders to tell the people on his return to his village not to kill or sell their daughters. If a person becoming a Sikh does either of these acts, he should be entirely cut off. No one should visit or feed at his house. He should not be admitted to the meetings. On the occasion of large gatherings at the *dehra*, some were in the habit of abandoning their old *kachh* (short drawers) and shoes and replacing them by taking new articles belonging to others. Tell the Sangat to abstain from this kind of work, which will bring disgrace on them. Besides this, no one should take up or steal anything belonging to another. Who ever disregards these instructions will suffer eternal hunger and nakedness. Believe this word to be true. They also steal the vessels belonging to the dehra. Make this order known to all the Sangat, that those who act in this way, will find it difficult to obtain even an earthen cup. Communicate this order also to the Sangat that the *kachh* and *malla* (woollen rosary) are the distinguishing signs of a Sikh, and should be worn on all occasions. Without the use of the *kachh* and *malla* and the observance of prayers, there is no comfort. The Guru desires to practice of prayer, charity and bathing the person. I have seen several people carrying to *mallas*, discoloured by smoke. This they might prevent by using them constantly ; but in stead of using them they hang them on pegs, and wear them only when they attend meetings. Brother, look at the plough ; it is useless unless it is worked. Act in this wise: when at work employ your tongue, and when at leisure turn or use the rosary. If any one says anything harsh or unpleasant, do not instantly fly at him, but be calm and patient. Never fail to bathe daily at the last watch of the night. The working people should bathe four *gharis* (2 hours) before sunrise, and the rest when a watch and quarter (1¼ pahar) of the night remains. If you believe my sayings, you will indeed derive much comfort. I cannot of myself give any orders. Whatever the Guru orders me, I write and tell the Sangat.

And, brother Hari Singh (i.e. Budh Singh), do not have any ill feeling against any one. As people act, so will they be rewarded. Whoever wishes ill to the *dehra*, he is himself lost

(drowned). What can you then say to him ? Nothing wrong or ill is done in the dehra. Go on with your prayers and worship, and continue to feed the hungry, and let the ill-disposed world say what they like against you. And, brother, do not give the leavings of your food to others, nor accept the leavings of others. Deliver this order also to the Sangat that only women should shampoo women, and men, men. Women should not be allowed to perform this office for men, nor should the latter be permitted to shampoo to women. Make this known, as it is the Guru's command.

Translation of Paper No. 5

And how are the *Khuddiwallas*?[1] Where do they reside, and how are they maintained ? How much did you pay for your railway fare, and what did you pay for passage by ship ? Let me now if the *Farangis* (English) have imposed any tax on my dehra ? I hope none of our *Namdharis* (Kukas) have taken service with the Malaichh. Write and let me know this, as I have frequently prevented them from taking such service, and if they do so, they will suffer pain ; and if you have heard anything else write and let me know. Have the Russians appeared in any other direction, or are they only in Kabul ? Whatever I ask, you must answer in writing, and whatever is known to yourself, let me have it in writing. Verbally we cannot ask and answer questions on so many subjects ; this can only be done in writing. Our meeting is limited to written communications ; when it is the wish of the Guru, we shall meet personally. Without being able to converse with each other, our meeting is like upto the meeting of trees, and personal meetings are only desirable when we can converse freely. Otherwise our being together is no meeting whatever. Are you putting up with Sham Singh or elsewhere ? Write and let me know. I asked you if Pujaris, Nihangs, and Rajas visit the Badh Tirath Tank. Write and let me know if they go to see and enquire

1. Four Kukas of Khuddi. Their names are Thaman Singh, Kahn Singh, Bhagwan Singh and Sher Singh ; they have removed to some villages beyond Muktsar.

about the place. You have not replied to my previous enquiries on this subject ; do so now and answer all my questions and do not omit anything. The paper you have given me to-day does not contain all the information, I wanted. Is there any milk in the Rurki house (probably means, if the Rurki folks have any cattle giving milk ; or it may have reference to some secret subject). Write and let me know everything in one letter either tomorrow or the day after, as it is difficult to exchange letters daily. They have strong suspicion in their minds against me, like unto death. Reply to all my questions, but do not keep these papers in your possession.

P.S.—Do not pay these coins into the Tahsil—(Refers probably to the gold coins worth Rs. 461 mentioned in paper No. 8).

Translation of Paper No. 6

Where does Gulab Singh reside ? Does he still follow his former habit of life, or is he reformed ? Send me a true account of the prophecies ; that is, who brought them ? Were the prophecies copied from the same Pathi which was found in the Badh Tirath Tank, or have they been taken from elsewhere. Write carefully about this, and also write and let me know the day that the search was made in the dehra. Did the *gora* (white man) came to the village, or were there only black men ? Do all the people or merely the lambardars wish ill to the dehra ? Are all the lambardars ill-disposed towards us, or only some ? Do you know anything about the swords which were found in the well ? Who drew them in the well ? Write and let me know.

Translation of Paper No. 7

Big bazar, Tulla-Patti, small Sangat, Gopal Singh Pujari's house.* (*Barri Bazar, Tulla Patti, Chhoti Sangat, Gopal Singh di Barri, Pujari di*).

*This is perhaps the address of Khushal Singh who is mentioned in Paper No. 12.

Translation of Paper No. 8

Salutations to Bhai Darbara Singh* of Raipur, to Jaimal Singh* to Baba Sant Singh** and, brother Darbara Singh, convey my salutations to all at Raipur, Gujarwal, Lohgar and to all the rest; also to the Majri people. **And brother Hari Singh (refers to Budh Singh brother of Ram Singh) let no one come to me for a whole year. I will either come myself before the year is out, or a year hence you can send some one to me who can read and write.** We cannot talk to each other here, and all our communications must be carried on in writing. The person you send should be able to write well. Some can read but cannot write. No female should be permitted to visit me. Bibi Nandan (Ram Singh's daughter), be careful, you do not make a start. Nandan teach the girls and the married women who are in the house, so that they may be able to repeat the *bani* (prayer). Without education prayers cannot be properly learnt. I recite "*Gam Gam Sankh Lo*" (a prayer). See, my daughter everything is due to prayer and worship: otherwise we see the condition of our own brotherhood. Hence, my daughter, let all girls and boys devote themselves to worship. Bibi Nandan, I was written to by Utmi[1] that she was helpless and powerless in the house. This is very true, as she has no father-in-law's house, and her paternal home is just as if it did not exist. Daughter, you ought to take care of her; give her clothing according to the season of the year so long as she remains with you, even if she lives with you always. Our supplies will not be diminished by our feeding and clothing those who pray, and she (Utmi) has devoted herself to prayer and worship. I maintain friendship only with those who devote themselves, whoever they may be, to worship and prayer. And you Utmi, sit and sleep near Nandan and obey her. Go nowhere alone, and if you will do all this, you will be happy. A

*Lambardars of Raipur they are now residing in Bhaini.

**This Kuka was also in Bhaini; he is now residing in village Guruser near Bhaini.

1. Utmi is a young woman belonging to village Chak in the Jallandar district. She resides in Budh Singh's debra and is also called Ghullo.

female wandering about uselessly suffers much in her reputation. And you Utmi Devi, devote yourself thoroughly night and day to prayer and worship, and you will derive much comfort. Brother Hari Singh, there are many bullocks but little milk in the dehra. If one or two buffaloes were added to the stock, it would be well. Three carts are sufficient ; but act according to your means. And brother, the Rurki people have written to me intimating that they are being excommunicated from the brotherhood at the instance of the Chuni folks, on account of a dispute about a betrothal. Brother, the Rurki people are not to blame, as the Chunni boy is under ten years of age, and the girl is 18 years old. Besides, the girl has not been purchased by the Chunni people. All are at liberty to betroth their sisters and daughters wherever they please. The Rurki people have committed no fault. Send for Daya Singh and speak kindly to him, as the Rurki people are the sons of good Sikh families. The profits of the shop will increase considerably if you avoid demanding too much gain, and if you look to unreasonable gain, your profits will diminish. Brother, great praise is due to you for the manner in which you have had the *bhajan* and *path* performed. Sell every horse that can be sold. Do not accept horses and cattle which you will be compelled to sell again. In such cases tell the owners who offer such cattle to sell the animals and pay the value into the charitable fund (*pun khata*). If they object, tell them to keep their animals. In Mussada Singh's name and on account of his *tarri*,[1] offer up bhogs, and feed the people. I have sent you gold and silver to the value of Rs. 461 ; credit the amount to the *langar* account. Avoid writing too many terms and expressions of respect, but send me a much true and correct information as you can. Let me know through those messengers who visit me the amount of money and cash received by you. Some Rs. 200 or more were sent by Bhagwan Singh[2] but I have not heard of the money being received by you. Deliver this letter at the dehra to Hari Singh.

1. Thirteenth ?
2. Serial 2 at p. 88—*Kukas of Note in the Punjab.* —Compiler.

Translation of Paper No. 9

There is only one God ; this I know by the grace of the true Guru. Dyal Singh and Kirpal Singh write to Manni Singh*. Gian Singh Arti's father, and to all, desiring them to accept their salutations, greetings to Mehtabo, respects to Atri's mother, and convey an expression of our pleasure to Atri. We are happy and may God keep you happy. And to Atarkaur (Atri) I have to say this. In the first place, I am very old, and my beard has become white. In the second place, I am sitting thousands of *kos* away in custody beyond the seas. Night and day I am surrounded by guards armed with muskets. In the day black men and at night white men guard me. They have no intention of setting me at liberty to so long as I am alive. The future is in the hands of the Guru. Besides, I belong to an humble caste. If you desire a husband, marry the son of a Sikh according to your choice. If you, however, prefer the life of a pure virgin, remain at your house and devote yourself to the worship of God. If possible avoid seeing man's face, and if you thus undertake to worship God, you will obtain a high position hereafter. The matter however rests in your own hands. I am helpless and in the power of others. My age has also far advanced and no one is allowed by them to approach me. There is, therefore, no chance of our meeting. Consider where you are and where I am sitting. Brother Manni Singh, to whom did you give Barmah Singh[1] thing which you took away, and how was it made use of ? Write and let me know this when any one is sent to me. Give this letter to Manni Singh[2] of Khanna, and you Manni Singh, read it to all who are mentioned here.

*Uncle of Mussammat Atri ; mentioned at page I in letters brought by Suba Samand Singh.

Translation of Paper No. 10

There is only one God ; this I know by the grace of the true Guru. This letter is addressed to Baba and to Nirban, worthy

1. A Kuka Suba, now in Moulmein.
2. Manni Singh brought gold worth Rs. 500, belonging to Barmah Singh, to be given to Budh Singh at Bhaini.

of honour, mine of knowledge, lover of truth, nourishing of the poor, giver of good, personification of mercy, gentle, remover of pains. Your virtues are many. I have mentioned only a few. Baba-ji, I am like a worm and your servant of servants. Accept my salutations. Convey my salutations to all the Sangat of this place and of *Duaba*, *Majah*, *Dorps*, and *Mainduab* and all the rest. We are well with your love and kindness. Sister Nandkaur[1], Mai Sahib[2], Bholi[3], sister Chad Kaur[4] Utmi including Bhagan, and all the rest send their salutation. Such is our fate that we have been parted. The Guru alone can remove this trouble. When he chooses he will forthwith remove it.

(Note—This letter, No. 10 is believed to be addressed by Ram Singh's attendant to Budh Singh and his family).

Translation of Paper No. 11

And, brother, give me more news about the loss of Panjabis killed in battle. Are they being mourned for or not ? Has the railway line reached Peshawar or not ? Does Thakra Singh[5]. work as a tailor for the dahra, or is he otherwise employed ? How are the *Obehwallas* ? It has been said that when they attend *melas* (fairs or Kukas' meetings) they are in the habit of stealing and carrying off clothes and vessels. Write a true account of this. Do they really take or steal things, or are they falsely blamed ?

Translation of Paper No. 12

And, brother Narain Singh, let no one come for a whole year. But if Sham Singh[6] will agree to receive letters and send them to me, you can send news to Khushal Singh. Ascertain

1. Ram Singh's daughter.
2. Budh Singh's wife.
3. Ram Singh's sister-in-law.
4. Bholi's sister.
5. This man is a resident of Sadhaura, Ambala district. He has been attached to the debra from childhood, and attends on Budh Singh and Dan Singh, keeps the keys and has charge of the current expenses.
6. Brother of Sher Singh (Serial 30 at Page 24—*Kukas of Note in the Punjab*—Compiler.

from Sham Singh his address and communicate the same to Khushal Singh[1]. You can from the dehra (Bhaini) send letters to Khushal Singh, and he will deliver them to Sham Singh, who will throw them into our place. At the same time let Sham Singh know Khushal Singh's address. When an opportunity offers, I will send my letter to Sham Singh who will transmit it to Khushal Singh, and the latter will forward it to the dehra (Bhaini). If Sham Singh consents to receive letters, you can, in the course of 4 or 6 months, address me ; but if he from fear refuses to receive letters, then well and good. Place your trust in the Guru and when he pleases we shall meet. The Guru has also written another word : *jo nepalli ko raj sur kirna kate Gurand, kirna nam kaid da hai, Gurand nam hamara Sikhan da hai, so eho bhi dho, hun dhuka hoya hai, tiari hai, bahut log bolde hain jo Nepalli Ava me agia hai, aur pehle bhi qui hain ava nu larn, age dekhie Guru ki karda hai.* This is :—The brave Raja of Nepal will put an end to this imprisonment. *Kirna* means imprisonment and *Gurand* is applicable to our Sikhs. The time has now arrived. Preparations are progressing. Many people say that the Nepallis have arrived at Ava and that they have taken him to Ava to fight. Let us see what the Guru will do in future. And, brother wherever you go, deliver my salutations to all. What did you say about the Sangat (Kukas) being pardoned ? I do pray for them, humbly asking the Guru to forgive the entire Sangat ; but, brother, forgiveness rests in the hands of God. I am merely His creature and do not worship Him sufficiently : besides I am full of iniquity. I have only the Guru to look for protection ; everything depends on the Guru's will. Give my *Wah Guru ji ki Fateh* to Khushal Singh, and deliver this from both of us. In Calcutta he takes much care of all Sikhs visiting that place. Write and let me know what presents you receive from the *Rikhis* (devotees ; here probably refers to Kukas or Ram Singh's followers). Treat them with great kindness.

1. Khushal Singh was living at Calcutta.

Translation of Paper No. 13

Read this paper last of all, and if you are aware, let me know who informed the people of the village about the bhog. And Sadhu Singh,* who died in Rayan, what did he say before death ? Did he himself jump into the well or was his body thrown into the well by the fakirs after death ? Give me some information about this.

*This Sadhu Singh committed suicide in 1878 by jumping into a well. The police went to Rayan to search for some stone cannon balls.

Translation of Paper No. 14

It will be difficult to give me anything again at this place. Do not make yourself known to any one, and write me particulars about Murmai[1] (Moulmein), and mention how they are living and conducting themselves towards each other. Who is most to blame, that is who domineers over the rest ?

Translation of Paper No. 15

There is only one God; this I know by the grace of the true Guru. Budhpargas writes to Lalla Mannu Lal, Mahesh Lal, Kunji Lal, Banka Lal, Mohan Lal, Gummi Lal, Bhaggu Lal. Greetings to all women and girls, and salutations to Panda Bhukhn Lal, and to his Brahmani wife, to Bhagat, Mata Din, Lachman, Tika Ram bania, Dwarka Pandit and to all give my salutations; and give my respectful salutations to all the *sadsh* (fakirs). And, Banke Lal, write me an account of the Sangat (Kukas) belonging to these parts without fail. The *Sadh* who is going to you with this letter is to be treated kindly. Send news by him I am sitting near the banks of the Satuldhar (Sutlej river). I will come when you send for me or think of me. Mohan Lal knows all about my Pothi, which I used to read. Radhu Lal knows about it. Kindly send it to me. Do not think in your mind that he has left his house and gone away. When you desire my presence I will come to you. Devi Lal

1. Jawahir Singh, Brahma Singh and Lakha Singh were confined in the Moulmein Jail.—Compiler.

and Parsadi Lal (I cannot remember all the names) and all the rest, accept my salutations. I am well and happy; in fact with the Guru's kindness, I am exceedingly happy and well. Search for the pothi and send it to me. These *Sants* (holy men) will identify the *Pothi*. You can give it to them and send it by them. Entertain these Sants and treat them kindly, provide them with some conveyance, and accompany them to the Fathepur station. Send news of your welfare by these Sants. Be careful to send it to Dibbu Lal.

(Note—This letter No. 15, is apparently in the handwriting of Narain Singh, Kuka, and is addressed evidently by Budh Singh, to Kukas residing somewhere in Fatehpur Haswa, between Jawnpore and Allahabad (see paper No. 2). The names, doubtless, and fictitious.

Translation of Paper No. 16

There is only one God; this I know by the grace of the true Guru. Brother Narain Singh, it is difficult to meet and converse with each other in this place, nor can I at one meeting communicate all I have to say. What I have asked you, and all that you have to say, communicate to me in one letter. Answer in writing my previous questions and also those I now ask; write also your own questions. If you are aware of the fact, answer whether the Russians, the English and the Kabulis are fighting or not ? The English have given out here that they have made peace with Kabul. Have the Russians entered Kabul or not ? And is this matter about peace being declared, true or false ? With regard to the Badh Tirath, is it known or not to other Sikhs and Sadhs, as well as to Namdharis. (Kukas) ? Do people from Gurdwaras and Dhehras (fakir's places) visit it, and if they do, what do they say ? Write me a full account of this; also write truly and let me know if the papers containing the prophecies which you have given me were copied from the Pothi recovered from the Badh Tirath. Or have these verses been composed by some one out of his own mind ? Give me an exact and accurate account of this. Do the sepoys (Constables) who are stationed at the dehra (Bhaini) receive their food from the dehra, or do they provide themselves with

food at their own expenses ? How much grain is collected in the dehra ? Write and let me know this also. Is the shop business flouring or does it merely pay its expenses ? Where do you procure your supply of firewood for the *loh* or *tawah* (baking iron). Sher Singh[1] Kharasie's own brother, is employed here at the railway station. His name is Sham Singh. Have you met him or not ? If you have not seen him, then do so. If he receives you with kindness, then take up your abode with him. Also write and let me know how Bhai Lal Singh[2] of Gumti is getting on. Is he in good circumstances or not ? Also write and let me know who copied these prophecies. Did you or any other Sikh do it ? Have any *Baldharis* (Sikhs) of the Punjab taken service with the English or not ? The English have given out here that peace has been declared in Kabul. If peace were made with the Russians, who would then release or recover Lahore ? The Guru has prescribed 34 years, and if his word does not come to pass, it will be a great calamity. If the Guru's word is not fulfilled correctly, it will be bad for the Sikhs. The future is in the Guru's hands If you know anything about Sahib Singh, Hukma Singh, Pahara Singh* and others, write and let me know how and where they are. Have any Sikhs, on account of the present troubles, renounced Kukaism, and is proselytism progressing or not; that is, does any one give and receive the bhajan ? Send me replies to all my enquiries. Do not omit anything. Also write all you desire to tell me. Has water been left into the canal ? Sukhu (refers probably to Sukhu, lambardar of Bhaini) deprived Bhagat Singh** of his house; has he restored it to him or not ? Write this also. If you should see Sham Singh, tell him to meet Bhagwana, when the latter gets out of imprisonment.

*Hukma Singh and Pahara Singh are Ram Singh's leading Sbhas. They are now in custody. Sahib Singh died recently.

**Bhagat Singh is a Kuka of Bhaini.

1. This Sher Singh, carpenter, belongs to Amritsar; he works in the wheat-mill at Bhaini.
2. Lal Singh is a Jagirdar and Kuka Suba who resides in Gumti, Thana Phul, Nabha State.

Translation of Paper No. 17

(This letter is addressed to brother Lehna Singh)

Accept my salutations. Brother we are happy, and may the Guru keep you happy. I have to communicate the following wish to you. Commit the *bani* (prayers) to memory, and teach your wife more or less every day. Educate the boys well, and if the girls are also taught, it wiill be a good thing. Teach them to learn the bani and to commit it to memory. And brother, I have to say one more word to you. The more you take care of Mai Jinda, the more will it be to your advantage. Give her nishashta (a kind of sweet) every cold season as long as she is alive. Also look after her food and drink to the best of your ability. Give her also a *seer* or three-quarters of *seer* of milk. By taking care of her, you will derive future benefits. Also make Sadhu Singh* learn some prayers. You have already learnt the language of the *Jhiwar*** so the bani cannot be difficult. Much good is derived from the Bani. Everything, besides the bani, is like the barking of a dog. Without worship and prayers man is like an evil spirit, and without these there is no increase in food and drink. Look at me. I possessed no ploughs to till the land, but witness the blessings of worship. I was doing well and enjoyed life comfortably. From working at, or making oil presses, my circumstances gradually improved. Brother Lehna Singh always with folded hands ask the Guru to give you faith, because the faithless in the end display their vicious or evil ways. You have already experienced for a short while, when we were together, the evil results of being faithless, but if you continue long in this state, there is no knowing what may happen. Give my salutations to Mulla Singh and to Jai Singh.* Brother Mulla Singh, your wife has departed this life. Well, brother, birth and death are the material events prescribed for all; some die ten days earlier and some later. Do not grieve too much.

*Younger brother of Lehna Singh, mentioned above.

**The Jhiwars have a peculiar language of their own which they use for purposes of secrecy.

*Two Kuka brothers of Bhaini.

Educate or teach the boy to read letters. If you have a daughter, marry her while she is very young, and send her to her father-in-law's house. If you educate your son thoroughly, some Namdhari (Kuka) will give him his daughter in marriage (whoever is destined to be his wife). You ought to be thankful, as you have had two wives; but there are persons who remain unmarried all their lives, and have yet done nothing to offend God. Observe prayers and worship with determination.

Read this letter to Mulla Singh, Jai Singh, Lehna Singh and Sadhu Singh in the village.

Translation of Paper No. 18

461.* Take all the letters I have given you and keep them with care. The season being rainy or damp, be careful that the letters do not adhere to each other.

*The No. 461, given in this paper probably refers to gold worth Rs. 461, mentioned in paper No. 8.

Note—On the reverse of this paper, the following unintelligible letters in Gurmukhi are written :—

(Ek O reta O Seh.)

Translation of Paper No. 23

To Punjab Singh of Jagde Hashmshawala* in the service of Kewal Sahib.

*This cannot be made out. It is probably the name of a place, and gives the address of one Punjab Singh.

Translation of Paper No. 24

As offering of one rupee from you is sufficient you may use the rest yourself. I am much pleased with having seen you. When the ship sails for Murmai (Moulmain) go on board; and give my salutations to all.

Translation of Paper No. 26

Brother, I do not look at their careful arrangements as any discomfort to myself. They may carry 20 muskets on their shoulders. My unhappiness is solely due to my not being allowed to meet my people. I do not desire to meet any others.

If restraint were withdrawn and people were allowed to visit me freely, they would interfere with my devotions and devour (bother) my brains uselessly. With the exception of my own people, I do not care to meet any one. This is the long and short of the matter ; (they think) if my letters reach the Punjab, where my people are numerous and obey me, I shall send instructions to my Singhs and have them all cleared out of the country; so they take great precautions and consequently have maintained a strict watch over me. I have nothing in my mind; but they dread the consequences of their own deeds, night and day. Brother, for this reason I have prevented you from visiting me, but the *Sangat* (my people) will not be kept back from coming. Brother, my wish to see you is many degrees stronger than yours for this reason, that you have many like me to see, whereas I cannot get to see those who take the name of God. If the Guru will permit it, I must see the Sangat and show myself to them. My brother, my relations by marriage, sister and brothers are the Sangat. Before the Guru I offer this supplication-"Guru Ji! let me see my Sangat". The matter, however, depends on the will of the Guru. Brother, there is a wonderful game going on. (God) causes one person to imagine that he (Ram Singh) is very bad, and another that there is much good in meeting him; but the Guru knows best, and also the loss and gain. But believe this to be true; that they (the English) fear me like unto death. God has put this fear into them. I am not capable of exciting fear or showing favour. Everything is in the Guru's hands. And, brother if these *Malaichh* were to allow us to meet, I would converse with you on innumerable subjects night and day, but such is the will of God that when we to meet, it is like a dream and does not satisfy me. If we were to meet properly, I would give you good food, ask and say many things to you. Brother, I prevent you for this reason, because we are not permitted to meet. The troubles of coming and going are very great; when the Guru wishes it, we shall then meet. At present, there is no meeting. I am full of anxiety until I hear of the safe departure of my Singhs. These Malaichh are unmerciful; they will be taken in hand by the Guru.

(Note—Paper No. 26 and 27 are actually two parts of one letter sent by Guru Ram Singh. Paper No. 27 is the first and No. 26 is the second part of the letter—Compiler).

Translation of Paper No. 27

There is only one God, this I know by the grace of the true Guru. I write this to Lal Singh and Narain Singh and wish them to accept my salutations. Give my *ramsat* to Bibi Partab Kaur.[1]

Brother, your birth is a great advantage, inasmuch as you have come such a distance across the sea to meet me. You have endured so many hardships and fulfilled all that a Sikh can be expected to do. I have not the virtues of a Guru in me, not so much as the thickness of a hair. And, brother, you are to me like life and body. I am even glad to meet a sweeper of the Punjab. It is most difficult for me to get sight of a Punjabi. I have repeatedly said that no one should come to see me ; but if necessary, a messenger should be sent once a year. No woman should be allowed to come. My reason for stopping frequent visits is that the distance is very great and the expenses of the journey and its troubles are considerable, and in addition to all this, these Malaichh will not allow us to meet. Your visits have been discovered and disclosed by some one. Consequently they have made strict arrangements, but they cannot help doing so. The white man who rules over all the countries has issued orders, and his orders are attached to the walls here to this effect :— **Whoever speaks with him (Ram Singh), imprison him, and if any one throws anything inside from out, or if anything is thrown out (to him) from within, imprison him also. Let no one stand opposite to him (Ram Singh).**—They are uselessly doing all this, as God has softened the hearts of their sentries, who comply with some of our wishes or do some jobs for us. There are certain sentries who will not permit outsiders to stand. If these Malaichh were to find out anything, they would imprison, dismiss and flog the sentries, and they would also imprison the person who came to see me, and I know not to what Island they would deport me or how troublesome the place would be. The Guru alone is keeping everything secret. For these reasons I prevent you from coming. I am in

1. Wife of Lal Singh, Suba, Kuka of Gumti.

custody, but if any of my men were to get into trouble, a fresh pain would be added to my sufferings, and I do not know where in that case they would take me. This is a nice place and I am alone ; there is a well inside at which I can easily bathe. I shall not be able to get such a comfortable place again.

(Gurmukhi version of Paper No. 26 and 27 may be seen at the end of this book. —Compiler)

Translation of Paper No. 28

I am in every respect happy. My only trouble is owing to my separation from the Sangat ; but the Guru will relieve me of this trouble. I have hopes of realizing this wish with the Guru's blessing. Everything depends on the Guru's will. Deliver my salutations with folded hands to all my Singhs. Give my *ramsat* to all the women and girls, and tell them to pry and worship with all their strength. No *Sat-sangi* (Kuka) must take service. He who do offer much pain ; believe this to be true. I have not written this falsely. The (present) state of affairs is not the same as it was before. The time for their destruction has arrived. This is the Guru's order. The time has arrived but the Guru who is unfathomable knows best. These people have this great fear in them that if any one meet him (Ram Singh), he will send letters and have our people (the English) killed as his (Ram Singh's) followers are numerous. Before this some slight disturbance was made. I do nothing, but their own deeds fill them with fear. On my account they exercise a strict watch over you secretly. Outwardly they treat me with consideration. This is not the time for service. The present time is most unfavourable ; so the Guru has written. I have not said this from myself. The Guru is unfathomable ; he knows best.

APPENDIX—D

Translation of letters from Ram Singh found on Dhana Singh of Gumti when arrested in the act of communicating with Ram Singh.

(See these letters on Page No. 14 to 18. —Compiler)

APPENDIX—E

Demi-official letter from J.P. Warburton, Esquire., District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, to Colonel A.H. Bamfield, Inspector General of Police, Punjab, dated Ludhiana, 23rd March 1881.

On the 19th instant, I recovered from Mussammat Atri of Khanna-Maisar in Patiala territory, several letters in the handwriting of Ram Singh. They were brought in 1880, I think by two men Sunder Singh of village Kaleri, Thana Budladah, District Karnal and another Kuka named Bhagwan Singh whose residence is unknown. I shall send you the original letters in a day or two. I am taking a copy for my own use. This makes the fifth batch of Ram Singh's letters recovered by me.

Translation of letters from Ram Singh

Letter No. 1

By the grace of the true Guru—

Compliments to Bhai Bhagwan Singh and Sundar Singh. I am enjoying good health, but am grieved on account of separation from my congregations. The Guru will remove my grief. You deserve great credit for having crossed the sea and travelled so far for the purpose of seeing me. You have acted up to the faith of disciples. I do not possess an atom of merit to deserve the title of Guru. Now I give the purport of this letter. One of you should come at 7 O'clock in the morning and another at 9 O'clock then at 11 O'clock. Be punctual and come as soon as you are called exactly at the fixed hours. It is difficult to hold conversation verbally. Answer my questions in writing. Also commit to writing the questions which you want to put to me. I will reply in writing. As soon as you have done with the papers, drawn them in water by wrapping them with a stone.

Read this paper first of all.

Letter No. 2

Write to me about the following points—1st. Regarding Peshawar—how is the war going on ? Who have gained the victory or been defeated ? Is the war progressing or has it stopped ? Has Russia arrived to aid Kabul or not ? Has Russia fought with the English or not ? Have Punjabis been recruited for service or not ? What is the state of crops in the country, whether good or bad, and what is the rate of wheat &c. ? Have the people been pressed for camels and carts ? Have troops of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind and other *Jaghirdars* been sent towards Peshawar ? Does water flow in the canal dug near the Dehra ? Is the Langar arrangement in the Dehra going on well or on a small scale ? Is corn stored in the Dehra and what quantity whether large or small ? Do Singhs perform Bhajan Bani ? Are the congregations firm or not ? Write to me about Nanoo Singh and his family. How are they doing and what is their means of livelihood ? Also let me know the same about the Singhs at Rurki.

Bhagwan Singh ; Write about yourself—Where did you live and where are the Singhs of your party ? Where is Jhanda Singh ?

Read the following next.

Letter No. 3

Read this paper after the 2nd one. Write to me all what you know about the Sakhis discovered in the "Paihlad Sagar"—Where did you get money for expenses ? What was the railway fare of both of you and what did you pay for your passage in the Steamer ? Are the Europeans leaving for the Peshawar direction or returning thence ? Do the Clasphemous priests visit Badh Tirath tank or not ? Do they continue to speak evil of it ? Answer the above points in writing, moreover let me have any information you can give concerning the affairs in the country. Don't omit any of the above points and answer all of them. If you intend to go to "Moremai" let me know before hand as I will give you a letter. Give the paper of your answers at one time. Are the "Bhogs" and "Paths" of the Granth performed ? If so whether on a large scale, or moderate ?

Letter No. 4

Bhai ! In regard to your request for "*Sit Parsad*", I say that the words of the Guru are the real "*Sit Parsad*." He who hearing the Gurus' words gives them a corner in his heart, will reap a great reward. A refuse food is not "Sit parsad." Tell all to refrain from giving or partaking of refuse food. Bhajan and Bani are fruitful of good, and the only means of blessing. Bhai ! whenever you go convey my compliments. Tear this letter after understanding its contents. Take with great care the letters for the country.

Bhagwan Singh ! don't keep the letters in your possession. Bind them about the person of Sundar Singh. Be cautions that you are not observed. Spare was pains in carrying the letters. There will be no danger after you have crossed the sea.

This letter is for you and the other for Dehra. Throw them when you have understood the contents.

Small Scraps

1. Throw me an inkstand and four strong reeds which I will mend myself.

2. The inkstand should be full of ink and not empty. Inkstands containing ink are selling here.

3. Don't throw letters by portions at a time but send all together at one and the same time, as it is difficult to receive and give letters repeatedly.

4. There are Manjha Sikhs in the Jail here but don't see them and don't open your heart to them. Of course meet Sham Singh. Write out answers of these points. Your letters should be quite distinct and plain.

5. See me at times. On an occasion presenting itself we can talk, otherwise simply interview can be held. The sight of a Singh is so precious to me.

6. Bhai Bhagwan Singh ! Why I forbid men to come to me is because they incur great expense and are put to trouble in undertaking the journey whereas they cannot comparatively hold equal amount of interviews. These people are afraid of my

person as one fears death. I do nothing to arouse their suspicion, the fear of their dealing exposes them to danger.

7. How is Attri—Write and let me know whether she observes chastity.

8. Do people give offerings to Attri, and is she visited by people. Attri is not gifted with power. She has in vain assumed the present bigotry. I do not need combs, give them to some Sikhs.

9. Perform many "Bhogs and Paths" of the Garanth. Let this be known to the Khalsa. Leave when the steamer starts and on arrival in the country have "Bhoge" and "Path" performed. I conclude this with the grace of the true, eternal and powerful God.

APPENDIX—F

Translation of a Gurmukhi letter from Hira Singh to all the Khalsa (Sikhs).

Compliments to all the Khalsa on the part of Guru Ji (Ram Singh).

Do not give us anything, but bring us a pair of stockings and *sukha*. We will receive it from you if we can. Take money, rings, &c., in the direction. None need come here. Dhanna Singh, son of Lal Singh of Gumti, has been arrested. He had *hukmnamas* (written orders) with him. No *hukmnamas* will henceforth be given to anybody. I understand the meaning of the Sakhi you gave me, and nobody else understands it. It is not a proper time now to explain the Sakhi. When I return to my native country, I shall then explain the meaning of it to the Khalsa. I have been able to expound many other Sakhis, since I came here. None of you should come here, but one of you should go out and collect the Sangat of all the countries, to repeat prayers (path, bani). When you go to Sohewa Sahib I shall join you there, and the Sangat will be relieved of their sufferings.

If you do not perform Path and Bani, you will not get rid of your troubles. This is the Guru's order. You say, "Maharaj ji, we don't understand the meanings of the Sakhis ; you should write us their meanings." O Khalsa of the Guru ! success is to attend the Guru. The troubles will not vanish without acting on my advice. You should not come here, but you should devote yourself entirely to Path and Bani. The Namdharis (Kukas) of all districts should go together to Sohewa Sahib and perform Path without fail, and then you will be relieved of your difficulties. When you go to Sohewa Sahib, the troubles of all the countries will vanish. You should all rely on the words of the Guru Sahib. The Sikhs need ask me nothing, as the Guru has already placed everything on record. If you do as bidden, I will be among you, and the Sangat will get rid of their sufferings. Do what is written in the sacred book which has been found in Bad Tirath. The word of *Ishwar* (God) never fails to come true.

We could write many letters but should the British come to know this, they would give us a great deal of trouble, as they have no mercy to show us. Tell Budh Singh that when he marries Surat Singh (second son of Nandan and grandson of Ram Singh) he should give to his wife as many jewels as were given to the wife of Basant Singh (Nandan's eldest son) and not more in value. If you all go to Sohewa Sahib, you should first jointly perform '*Chandi path*' and then do what you like.

You should do what is dictated in the book lately found in Paihladsar. I will explain to you the meaning of *chare bate* (4 sons), *ghar* (house), and *Ajit Nagri* (invincible city) in a *Sanchi* (small religious pamphlet), when I come back. There is a paper, you should repeat prayers according to that paper. The meanings of the *Sanchi* as well as *chare bete* will be explained by me, should the Guru be pleased to bring me back (to the Punjab).

Note :—The contents of this letter (handed over to British authorities by Sardar Atar Singh of Bhadaur) are not genuine—Compiler.

PROPOSED TRANSFER OF GURU RAM SINGH TO TABLE ISLAND AND RELEASE OF NANNOO SINGH

No. 3008 R.S., dated Rangoon the 4th May 1881.

From:—G.D. Burgess, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

To :—The Officiating Secretary to Government of India.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 477, dated the 14th ultimo, forwarding copies of two communications from the Government of the Punjab, and calling for a report of the further precautions which the Chief Commissioner would propose to take so as to completely prevent all communications between Ram Singh and his adherents.

2. I am to express regret that, through a failure of duty on the part of the District Magistrate, the two men who visited Ram Singh at Mergui in January last were not tried, convicted and punished for the offence they had committed.

3. It is, perhaps, not probable that members of the Kuka sect will again visit Mergui, but it may always be possible that they should employ other natives of the India or Burmans for the purpose. A weekly steamer will shortly be running to Mergui. Ram Singh and his place of confinement will then become easier of access, and it may be difficult to prevent determined persons from communicating with him.

4. I am accordingly to propose that Ram Singh should be transferred to Table Island. This Island forms one of the Cocos group. There is a light-house upon it with a European light-keeper, in whose charge Ram Singh might be placed. It would be

necessary to give the light-keeper a small special allowance, and a guard which might consist of extra light-keepers would be required. At present no vessel visits the Island except the I.G.S. Enterprise. Care would, as far as possible, be taken that the Enterprise should not be used as a vehicle of communication. No craft could approach the island without the light-keeper's knowledge. Table Island is a healthy and pleasant residence ; and, except that Ram Singh would be cut off from the visits and letters of his friends, he would be more comfortable than he has been anywhere since he became a prisoner of State. Even at Table Island, however, it is possible that the Native light-keepers may be ready to convey letters to and from Ram Singh for a consideration. But every practicable precaution will be taken against these and other attempts that may be made to establish communication.

5. I am to take this opportunity to submit that Ram Singh's follower, Nannoo Singh, who has shared his confinement since he arrived in this Province in 1872, has petitioned the Chief Commissioner for release. He has been of late much ill-treated by Ram Singh, who appears to have taken a dislike to him, and who does not wish him to remain with him any longer. In 1872 Nannoo Singh, who was given a free choice in the matter in accordance with the instructions contained in Home Secretary's letter No. 470, dated the 10th March 1872, elected to remain in confinement under the same conditions as his master. The circumstance was reported in letter No. 312, dated the 5th April 1872, from the Inspector General of Jails, copy of which was forwarded to the Home Secretary with this Office letter No. 200-53, dated the 13th idem. The Chief Commissioner is not aware whether, on political grounds, it is necessary to keep Nannoo Singh in confinement. If not, he would submit that Nannoo Singh might perhaps, be released. Up to the present time the Chief Commissioner had received no warrant for his confinement.

HOME DEPARTMENT

(Confidential)

Transfer of Ram Singh, the Kuka leader, to Table Island.

(*From the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, No. 3008 R.S., dated the 4th May 1881*).

Accordingly, by our letter dated the 14th ultimo, the Chief Commissioner was told that it was absolutely necessary that all communications between Ram Singh and his adherents should be completely stopped, and he was asked to report what further precautions he would propose to adopt in order to attain this object.

It will be remembered that last year Ram Singh was transferred from Rangoon to Mergui on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner, as he thought that means of communication with him there would be difficult, inasmuch as there was only a fornightly mail steamer to the place, and the arrival of natives of India there, who alone would be likely to attempt intercourse with Ram Singh, would be noticed, so that their movements could be watched.

Mr. Bernard now reports that a weekly steamer will shortly be running to Mergui, and that Ram Singh and his place of confinement will then become easier to access, and it may be difficult to prevent determined persons from communicating with him. He accordingly proposes to transfèr Ram Singh to Table Island, which forms one of the Cocos group. There is a light-house upon it with a European light-house keeper, in whose charge it is proposed to place Ram Singh. A small allowance to the light-keeper and a guard, which might consist of extra light-keepers, would, it is stated, be required.

It is added—

At present no vessel visits the island except the I.G.S. Enterprise. Care would, as far as possible, be taken that the Enterprise should not be used as a vehicle of communication. No craft could approach the island without the light-keeper's knowledge.

Mr. Bernard, however, is not quite sanguine that even these measures would effect the desired object; for, he says, it is possible that the Native light-keepers might be ready to convey letters to and from Ram Singh for a consideration.

The point for consideration is, whether 'Table Island' is the best place for Ram Singh under the circumstances. We are told that the island is not visited by any vessels except the I.G.S. Enterprise; that it has a European light-keept with a few assistants; and that Ram Singh would be cut off from the visits and letters of his friends.

It does not, however, appear that Table Island is so isolated as is stated to be the case. We have recently leased out the Great Coco Island to Mr. Sherlock Hare, and Table and Slipper Islands lie close off the north end. Mr. Hare has no doubt a large Native establishment for his work on the island, and also must have means of communicating with India. In the event of Ram Singh succeeding in bribing any of the Native light-keepers into his service, he would, it is submitted, have greater facilities for carrying on a correspondence with, and receiving visits from his people in the Punjab. The Chief Commissioner says nothing on the above points. His attention might be drawn to them, and he might be asked whether he is still of opinion that Ram Singh could be securely placed on Table Island.

The Chief Commissioner further states that Ram Singh's follower, or servant Nannoo Singh, who has shared his confinement since his arrival in British Burma in 1872, has petitioned for release. It is stated that he has been of late much ill-treated by Ram Singh, who appears to have taken a dislike to him, and who does not wish to keep him any longer.

By Home Department letter, dated the 10th March 1872, the Chief Commissioner was informed of Ram Singh's despatch to British Burma, and a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 for his detention was forwarded.

It was added—

'Ram Singh is accompanied by two servants : if they continue in attendance on him, they must be kept in the same confinement and subject, in every respect, to the same rules as Ram Singh himself. This is necessary, lest they be employed as channels of communication with the Punjab: it is very desirable to prevent h is.'

They should, therefore, be distinctly asked if they are willing to remain with Ram Singh under these circumstances, which must be fully explained to them. If they consent, a written acknowledgment of the explanation conveyed to them, and of their willingness to abide by the conditions imposed, should be taken from them. If, on the other hand, they decline, it should also be explained to them that their separation from him will be final and complete, and they should, if they persist in it, be returned to Calcutta for transmission to the Punjab by the first opportunity.

On the 13th April 1872 the Chief Commissioner reported the arrangements which had been made for Ram Singh's accommodation, and forwarded a letter from the Inspector General of Jails on the subject.

With reference to Ram Singh's servants, the Inspector General reported that he was accompanied by only one servant, and he enclosed a written promise from this man "testifying his willingness" to remain with Ram Singh under whatever restrictions Government "may from time to time see fit to impose."

Whether Nannoo Singh should now be allowed to return to the Punjab is a question for the consideration of Local Government.

Foreign Department might see the case for such remarks they may wish to make.

W.J.S. 28-5-81.

To Secretary—We might, perhaps, first consult the Punjab Government confidentially in regard to both proposals, i.e. the transfer of Ram Singh to Table Island and release of his servant Nannoo Singh. It will be as well to hear what the Lieutenant-Governor has to say on both matters, and the Government of India will be perfectly free to act as it thinks best. At a previous stage of this correspondence it was proposed to transfer Ram Singh to the Settlement of Camorta in the Nicobars, but this was dropped as the Chief Commissioner expressed an opinion that he could be more securely kept and the better looked

after at Rangoon. Table Island appears open to certain objections,* inasmuch as very little could be known of what was going on there; but there can be no harm in consulting the Punjab Government and hearing what the Lieutenant-Governor has to say on the proposed transfer.

*There would be no regular guard, while there would be a wide scope for bribery and perhaps facilities for escape.

F.C.D., 28-5-81.

To Honourable Member—I don't think the Table Island scheme would do. We should have no guarantee that the lighthouse establishments were suited for jailor's work, or proof against temptation; and, in order to guard Ram Singh, some special establishments would be needed, which would be unnecessarily expensive. I should have thought that some jail in the interior of Burma (if there be any sufficiently secure) would be the most suitable place of confinement. With His Excellency's permission, the Honourable Mr. Thompson might be consulted as to Nannoo Singh. We might first consult Foreign Department and Local Government (Punjab).

C.G., 30-5-81.

Yes.—J.G., 31-5-81.

To His Excellency the Governor General—For permission to consult Honourable Mr. Thompson.

C.G., 31-5-81.

Consult the Honourable Mr. Thompson as proposed.

R., 1-6-81.

I don't think Table Island would do, especially if Mr. Sherlock Hare has established his commercial cocoanut enterprise at that place. There would be a large population under no regular supervision, and the means of communicating with Ram Singh would be frequent.

The keenness and pertinacity with which Kuka Ram Singh's followers seek him, and the means at their disposal, show the difficulties of cutting him off from all communication with his Punjab disciples. On Table Island he would be much more at liberty than on

the main land, and the light-house keepers and the lascars of the Enterprise could easily be bought over to convey written papers to Ram Singh's agents at Rangoon and elsewhere.

As regards some jail in the interior, I should have thought no better place could possibly have been found in Burma for the isolation of Ram Singh than the station of Mergui. It is such an out-of-the-way spot that, even with weekly steamers, the arrival of any Sikhs in the place would be at once noticed; and if the Deputy Commissioner and the Jailor did their duty, access to Ram Singh would be next to impossible. The man is confined in a house in the precincts of the jail as a political detenu, not as a criminal, and should be under the close observation of the officer in charge of the prison: and, with the most ordinary care, he could be completely cut off from all communication with the outer world. I would allow him to remain in Mergui, enjoining upon the Chief Commissioner stricter precautions. No Punjabees or up country men should be employed in this custody or at the jail. The arrival of the steamers should be watched so as to detect the landing or presence of any such men in the station. Such a fact would be at once noticeable in a place like Mergui. Above all, we may impress upon the Chief Commissioner that the recurrence of such transactions as the recent one would be visited severely upon the Deputy Commissioner and the Jailor.

I am not sure whether it would not be a good step to tell Ram Singh that, if he was discovered again resorting to these practices, he would be remanded to the common Jail. He is allowed a good many indulgences in the present position.

Nannoo Singh, the servant should not be allowed to return to the Punjab without the Lieutenant-Governor's consent.

A.R.T., 3-6-81.

Now draft to the Punjab, and then send the case unofficially to Foreign Department for any remarks.

C.G., 4-6-81.

Foreign Department.

It appears pretty evident that Table Island would not do for the confinement of Ram Singh Kuka. As regards his attendant, Nannoo Singh, I suppose Foreign Department would not object to his release if the Government of the Punjab have no objection. It seems to be a matter more for them to consider than for us. Of course, it is quite possible that the ill-treatment may be pretence, in order to give the man an excuse for coming to the Punjab as a direct emissary from Ram Singh; but this will doubtless be considered by the Lieutenant-Governor; and if Nannoo Singh is released, the Punjab authorities will probably keep a sharp look out upon him.

T..H., 20-6-81.

To Secretary—It seems to me that Nannoo Singh's departure would be a positive advantage. A single message from Ram Singh can do no harm, and he would be deprived of a considerable aid to communication with the outside.

Mergui, if the responsible officers are careful, seems all that is required as a place of residence.

H.M.D., 23-6-81.

Mergui appears to be the better place. Nannoo Singh might, I should suppose, be released; possibly he might give useful information on his return to the Punjab. But the Foreign Department can hardly make any remarks with advantage, without knowing the views of the Punjab Government.

A.C.L., 26-6-81.

Home Department.

Await Punjab Government reply.

W.J.S., 29-5-81.

To Secretary—F.C.D., 29-6-81.

C.G., 30-6-81.

Foreign Department

To Secretary—Please see your Note of 26th June and Punjab letter of 18th July regarding Ram Singh Kuka.

The Lieutenant-Governor entirely agrees with the view taken here. I don't know that any further remarks are required.

Ram Singh should be kept at Mergui and Nannoo Singh released.

H.M.D., 28-7-81.
A.C.L., 1-8-81.

Home Department.

The Chief Commissioner of British Burma may now be addressed in the sense of the foregoing Notes.

W.J.S., 5-8-81.
Draft for Secretary's approval.—F.C.D., 5-8-81.

From the Government of the Punjab, No. 133 S, dated the 18th July 1881.

Please see the Foreign Secretary's Note below, dated the 26th June last. This letter from the Punjab Government may be referred to the Foreign Department, in the first instance, for remarks.

To Secretary—F.C.D., 20-7-81.
C.G., 21-7-81.

No. 763, dated Simla, 10th June 1881.

From—F.C. Daukes, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India.

To —The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

In continuation of endorsement No. 479, dated the 14th April last. I am directed to forward copy of a letter from the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, proposing that the Kuka prisoner Ram Singh should be transferred to Table Island, which forms one of the Cocos group, and submitting for consideration the case of Nannoo Singh, a servant of Ram Singh, who was hitherto shared his confinement.

No. 3008 R.S. dated 4th May 1881.

2. It appears to the Governor General-in-Council, as at present advised, that the transfer of Ram Singh to Table Island would be open to several objections. In the first place, there is

no guarantee that the light-house establishments upon that Island are suited to perform the duties of a guard, or that they would not be open to bribery on the part of Ram Singh's adherents. This latter danger would be enhanced by the fact that the Great Coco Island, situated at a distance of about a mile and-a-half from Table Island, has been leased to Mr. Sherlock Hare, who, if he has established his commercial cocoa-nut enterprise at that place, has probably located on the island a large establishment over which no regular supervision exists. Moreover, Ram Singh, if transferred to Table Island, would probably be more at liberty that on the main land, and would have greater facilities for carrying on a correspondence with his agents at Rangoon and elsewhere. Lastly, it seems doubtful whether, if proper precautions are adopted, a more suitable place than Mergui could be found for Ram Singh's detention. If His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor should concur in this view, the Governor General-in-Council would propose to instruct the Chief Commissioner to retain Ram Singh at Mergui, but to insist on the local authorities exercising such supervision and adopting such precautions as should render access to him impossible.

3. As regards Nannoo Singh, the Governor General-in-Council would be glad to be favoured with the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor whether there is any objection to sanctioning his release with permission to return to the Punjab.

No. 133 S, dated the 18th July 1881.

From—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To —The Secretary to the Government of India.

I am desired to reply to your letter No. 763, dated 10th June last, asking for the opinion of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor upon a proposal made by Chief Commissioner of British Burma to transfer the Kuka prisoner Ram Singh to Table Island, one of the Coco group; and, secondly, regarding the release of Nannoo Singh, Ram Singh's attendant.

2. Sir Robert Egerton entirely agrees with the view taken by the Government of India with regard to the first of these subjects. He thinks it extremely problematical whether Ram Singh could be as securely detained in Table Island as at Mergui. The vicinity of Great Coco Island and of the settlement which has been recently made there, would afford opportunity for a plan of escape, which His Honor believes does not exist in Mergui. Provided, therefore, that due supervision is exercised by the local authorities at Mergui, and precautions taken to render access to Ram Singh impossible, His Honor would much prefer that he should continue to be confined in that place.

3. As regards Nannoo Singh, I am to state that he was deported, not as a political prisoner, but as a personal attendant upon Ram Singh. He elected to share the imprisonment of his master, and perhaps in virtue of this choice freely exercised, it might be justifiable to refuse to set him at large. But for this, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks there is no necessity, as the only political importance which he possesses arises from the fact of his having been confined for anticipating any evil consequences from his release. If, moreover, it is true that he has been lately subject to ill-treatment at the hands of Ram Singh while in confinement, there is still less reason for supposing that on his release he would promote in any way the views of the Kuka leader.

No. 1055, dated Simla, the 19th August 1881.

From—The Honourable C. Grant, C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India.

To—The Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3008 R.S., dated the 4th May last, in which you suggest the transfer of the Kuka prinsoner Ram Singh from Mergui to Table Island, as a means of preventing communications with his adherents. You also submit for the considerations of the Govern-

ment of India the case of Nannoo Singh, a servant of Ram Singh, who has hitherto shared his confinement.

2. In reply, I am to forward copy of the correspondence marginally noted, from which it will be seen that certain objections occurred to the Governor General-in-Council in regard to the removal of Ram Singh to Table Island. The nature of those objections is fully described in the letter to the Punjab Government, No. 763, dated the 10th June last, and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has expressed his entire concurrence in the views therein set forth. Under these circumstances, the Governor General-in-Council considers it preferable that Ram Singh should, for the present at all events, remain under detention at Mergui, strict orders being issued to the local authorities to exercise such supervision and to take such precautions as will render access to him impossible. The Deputy Commissioner and the Jailor of Mergui should at the same time be informed that any recurrence of such transactions as that which gave rise to the present correspondence will be viewed with severe displeasure by the Government of India. I am further to suggest that the employment of natives of the Punjab or of Upper India should be avoided, not only in the custody of Ram Singh, but as far as possible in any part of the Mergui Jail, so long as he remains imprisoned there. The arrival of the weekly steamers should also be watched in order to ascertain whether any suspicious persons land at Mergui.

To Punjab Government, No. 763, dated 10th June 1881.
From ditto, No. 133 S, dated 18th July 1881.

3. In regard to Nannoo Singh, I am to say that, as His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor does not anticipate any evil consequences from his return to the Punjab, the Governor-General-in-Council sanctions his release, with permission to return to his home. Nannoo Singh should be sent to the care of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, who will arrange for passing him on to his home. Particular care should be taken to ascertain that he is not the bearer of any written communications from Ram Singh.

———

No. 1056

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bengal, with the request that the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, may be instructed to receive Nannoo Singh and arrange for sending him to his home.

No. 1057

Copy forwarded to the Government of the Punjab for information, with reference to letter thence, No. 133 S, dated the 18th ultimo.

No. 1058

Copy, with copy of the papers marginally noted, forwarded to the Foreign Department for information, in continuation of endorsement No. 478, dated the 14th April last.

To Punjab Government, No. 763, dated 10th June 1881.
From ditto, No. 133 S, dated 18th July 1881.

No. 269/11

To :—The Commissioner,
Tenasserim Division,
Moulmein.

Dated Moulmein, 14th November 1881.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 183-A dated the 10th instant ; I have the honor to report that Nannoo Singh was forwarded on to Calcutta by the Steamer which left Moulmein this morning. Before starting his property and person were most carefully searched, but no letter or paper of any kind was found.

I have &ca.,
Sd/- M. Furlong, Major
Dy. Commissioner, Moulmein

MISCONDUCT OF STATE PRISONER RAM SINGH

No. 349-R.S.

From :—E.S. Symes, Esquire, C.S.,
Junior Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Dated Rangoon, 12th June 1882.

Sir,

I am directed to submit a copy of the papers cited in the margin on the subject of the continued misconduct of State prisoner Ram Singh.

Extract from letter No. 2258/93 dated 24th Nov. 1881, from Inspector General of Prisons.

Endorsement No. 482/62 dated 16th February 1882 from Commissioner Tenasserim with enclosures.

Letter No. 1006/342-A, dated 31st May 1882 from Commr. Tenasserim with extracts from enclosure.

2. I am to say that if there be no objection it is proposed to instruct the Deputy Commissioner Mergui that if Ram Singh conducts himself with violence, he is at liberty to punish him by placing him in close restraint for a period not exceeding 24 hours at a time.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- Symes,
Junior Secretary

———

Judicial Department
(Prisons)
No. 2258/93

From :—The Inspector General of Prisons, British Burma.

To :—The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,
British Burma.

Dated Rangoon, 24th November 1881.

Sir,

As directed in your letter No. 61 Foreign Department (State

Prisoners) dated 7th instant, I visited the State Prisoner Ram Singh at Mergui on the 16th instant, and am of opinion that he is not insane. He is a man of a naturally fierce and passionate disposition and I think his prolonged retention in confinement; removal to Mergui; and the discovery of his attempts to communicate with his friends, has incensed him very much, and exhausted the patience with which at first he bore confinement. I questioned the three Kooka prisoners at the Kyonktan Jail who knew Ram Singh well before his imprisonment, and they declare that he was always a man of very violent temper—like a tiger, as they said, when opposed about anything. **I learned for the first time on arrival at Mergui that his follower Nannoo Singh had been released at his own request, and allowed to return to his country in consequence of Ram Singhs' alleged ill-treatment, which was supposed to consist in continual personal violence, but as I am informed on enquiry the follower never could show a bruise or other external sign of his having been assaulted. I conclude that the assaults were not in reality very violent, but were pretended in order to aid in carrying out a settled plan.** The only person now inside the enclosure with Ram Singh is a Brahmin life convict named Nundoo Lall, who has already gone 20 years in jail; that is, if his present work be counted as imprisonment, he has been eligible for ticket of leave for the last four years, but has not asked for one; his conduct to all appearances has been good, but although he must be aware of all that goes on about Ram Singh he gives very little information.

Ram Singh is very anxious that this man should be released; also I think his object in urging his release is that he, Ram Singh, if left without any attendant, would be able to cause even more trouble than he does at present which course he thinks might result in a recommendation for his release. I asked the life convict in Ram Singhs' presence whether he would continue in his present employment on payment if released, and on his saying he would, Ram Singh was very angry. I am of opinion that Ram Singh is not insane, but of course I may be mistaken, having only had a short time in which to observe him; he eats well,

sleeps well, and with the exception of violent fits of passion when talking about his imprisonment, those who caused it, and his prolonged retention in Burmah, he is rational enough. He is very insolent to Captain Butler the Deputy Commissioner, and to the Civil Medical Officer Omorto Lall Munshi, and they consequently visit him but seldom.

I requested the Civil Medical Officer to observe him as attentively as he could in future, because for the past three months he has only visited him 10 or 12 times.

I think some better means of controlling and watching Ram Singh are required, and for this purpose two respectable natives of India of good physique, Brahmins if possible, should be engaged to live with him, one to be always on duty. The late Civil Medical Officer of Mergui, Devendernath Roy, had considerable influence over him ; he never attempted any violent display of temper in his presence.

By British Burmah, Foreign Department notification, dated Rangoon 17th September 1880, the Deputy Commissioner of Mergui was appointed Superintendent of the Prison in which Ram Singh is confined under Section G. of the Prisons' Act, and in para 3 of your letter No. 7128/14-R.S., dated 12th October 1880, to the Commissioner of Tenasserim, you directed "the Deputy Commissioner should be instructed in future to correspond with the Inspector General of Prisons on all matters connected with Ram Singh" ; but with the exception of half yearly reports (Quarterly were ordered by the Chief Commissioner) I find there have been no communications received in this Office from the Deputy Commissioner regarding Ram Singh ; any correspondence which may have taken place has gone, I suppose, through the Commissioner. I have no objection to this course, it has several advantages, if the Chief Commissioner considers it can be continued in accordance with the Prisons Act and existing orders.

I have &ca.,
(Sd/-) W.P. Kelly,
Inspector General of Prisons
British Burmah.

B.B.

No. 482/62

Dated, 16th February 1882

Copy with copy of enclosure forwarded to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner B.B., in continuation of this Office letter No. 2258/93 dated 24th November 1881.

Sd/- W.P. Kelly,
Inspector General of Prisons,
B.B.

No. 11

Civil Surgeon's Report

To :—The Inspector General of Prisons,
British Burma Division, Rangoon.

Dated Mergui, the 3rd February 1882

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith the usual annual sanitary report &c. of the Mergui lock up for the year 1881. I also beg to take this opportunity of furnishing you, as promised, a report as to sanitary or otherwise of State prisoner Ram Singh.

From close observation of his doings and conduct towards his attendants as well as outsiders I am inclined to in-far that he is suffeiing from some sort of mental aberration, I think "monomania". At every visit—I paid him he was always civil at the commencement, develling at random on different topics but no sooner he came to speak about "*Sahib logs and slaughter of cows by them*" he at once fired up, his excitement reached to its acure, his whole body shook with rags, words of abuse, (in languate grossest imaginable) came hiring through his teeth and in short he lost all control over himself violent moving often supervened and was invariably followed by his adoption of violent measures in the shape of fights with his attendants and not unusally of attempts to strike the visitors whoever they may be with any instrument he could lay hold of.

At my last visit he became so furious, that he caught hold of a heavy stick and came with an uplifted hand to strike, but which he never did, although I did not move an inch from my place. Whether Ram Singh does behave like the above intentionally or that he gets sudden temporary excitement of spirits bordering almost on raving "mama" is a difficult question to solve. But whatever it is, its care lies in more strict and close confinement than the present one.

I have &c.,
Sd/- O.S. Moonshi,
Civil Surgeon, Mergui.

No. I–46
Political Department

From :—The Officer-in-Charge of Jail, Mergui.

To :—The Inspector General of Prisons, British Burma.

Dated Mergui, the 6th February 1882.

Sir,

In forwarding the remarks by the Civil Surgeon on Political Prisoner Ram Singh, in the last para of which he recommends more strict and close confinement than the present one, I have the honour to state that the confinement is in accordance with instructions received. He never moves out of the Jail precincts, but is allowed full liberty inside the palisading. If he was put into a solitary cell every time he broke out in one of his demented fits it might help to care him but this could not be done without either removing him to the Criminal Jail or without building a solitary Cell inside the Jail precincts or by locking him up in his bed room and thus making it a solitary Cell. I have not deemed myself at liberty to resort to stern measures as my instructions were to treat him with all possible mildness and merely to prevent interviews with messengers or receipt and despatch of secret correspondence.

I have &c.,
Sd/- J. Butler,
Officer-in-Charge of Jail,
Mergui.

Office of Inspector General of Prisons.

British Burma

Tenasserim Division.
No. 1006/342-A,
Political Department.

From :—Colonel A.G. Duff, Commissioner of Tenasserim,

Dated Moulmein, the 31st May 1882

Sir,

With reference to your letter Foreign (State Prisoners) No. 646/8 S.P. of 18th March, I have the honour to forward herewith copy of a report[1] from the Deputy Commissioner Mergui on the subject referred to.

2. It seems that the present attendant of Ram Singh one Nandoo Lall manages him fairly well, and I would recommend that he be granted a ticket of leave on the conditions suggested by Captain Butler, but I think it would be advisable that a second attendant should be provided so that one might always be on duty. It further seems to me that as Ram Singh is not considered a lunatic intentional violence on his part should be punished.

I have &c.,
Sd/- A.G. Duff, Col.
Commissioner of Ten.

(Copy)
No. 1/48
Jail Department.

To

The Commissioner,
Tenasserim Division, Moulmein.

Dated Mergui, the 28th April 1882.

Sir,

In reply to your Revenue Department No. 424/342 of the 22nd March 1882, forwarding for my opinion, copy of letter No. 2258/93 from the Inspector General of Prisons regarding Ram Singh.

1. No. 1/48 of 28th April 1882.

Dr. Kelly is of opinion that Ram Singh is not insane, but a man of a naturally fierce and passionate disposition and much exasperated at the discovery of his attempts to communicate with his friends; and considers that some better means of controlling and watching him are required for which purpose he recommends two Natives of India of good physique Brahmins. Doubling his attendants that is having two instead of one servant to watch him as a precautionary measure so far may be very good, but something more is, I think required to be done to check those violent outbursts of passion in which he indulges, beating the walls or throwing about clouds of earth; violently beating the ground for hours at a time, vowing confection to his enemies and abusing all the poineers upon earth &c.

If he is save, I consider he should not be allowed to act part of a maniac without being subject to some punitive treatment and put under some extra restraint; I would therefore recommend that each time that he breaks out into one of these violent fits, the handcuffs be placed on him and he be locked up in his room for two or three hours or until he is quiet.

Dr. Kelly admits that the man is naturally of a fierce and passionate disposition, I think I may add by religions enthusiasm a fanatic the two combined make him a far more dangerous character to deal with as he considers himself a martyr.

Hitherto Ram Singh has not attempted any violence to me personally further than abusing me in the vilest Hindoostani abuse, and if he did he would probably choose his time and opportunity at some unguarded moment which no amount of guard could prevent. as for example in the case of Lord Mayo. The more I have forborne to use any harsh measures the more outrageous has been his conduct and .the more does he presume under it, had I put down his outbursts at the first with a stern hand, he would probably have long era this discontinued them, but my instructions being to treat him with every consideration did not, I consider, allow me to do so without first obtaining sanction, but to continue the mild treatment of the past, would I think only tend to encourage further misbehaviour on his part, and might lead him in some movement of passion to

commit an assault or attempt on me which would only involve him in far more serious consequences. At present his motive may be only to give trouble and annoyance and if he finds that fail, he may resort to other more dangerous methods, but if checked at once he would probably submit from fear of still more strong measures being applied then those already recommended by me.

When Ram Singh first came to Mergui he commenced pulling down his cook house, a *puckka* building with a corrugated iron roof, as I consider loose bricks not the best weapons to leave at his disposal, I had the cook house removed and a wooden building erected in its place. Last week whilst passing the Political Prison I noticed him walking up and down the Verandah abusing and shouting and throwing his arms about, I further noticed something projecting from his clenched fist. I directed the police to extract it and found it was a 5 inch iron nail which he must have taken out of the carpenter's box when they were building the wooden cook house some four or five months ago, and yet the nail must have been all this while secreted in his possession without any one knowing it. It only shows how dangerous weapons can usually be obtained without detection.

The Brahmin life convict Nandoo Lall who acts as his cook and servant, says that Ram Singh is not mad, but that he is doing every thing he can to annoy and make himself abnocious in the hope that we shall release him or remove him to get rid of such a troublesome follow, that after Ram Singh's own follower left, Ram Singh began by try and it treat him also, in the hope of getting Nandoo Lall also to go away and thus give us further trouble and annoyance to get a substitute.

I do not wish to be in any way harsh to the man, but I have now for over a year quietly day by day and week by week submitted to language which I certainly would not have submitted to from any one else, and with this result, that he became worse day by day. Up to the present he has not been subjected

to the slightest restraint or punishment inside the precincts of his compound and I think it is now quite time that some kind of punitive measures be resorted to, to uphold to some extent at least the dignity and position of Government itself which as his custodian I have to represent.

I have &c.,
Sd/- J. Butler,
Dy. Commissioner, Mergui.

MOVEMENTS OF GURCHARAN SINGH IN CENTRAL ASIA

Compiler's Note

Baba Gurcharan Singh s/o Atar Singh, Virk Jat of Chakparana in the Sialkot district was a medium of communication between Russian authorities in Central Asia and the Kukas in Punjab.

Gurcharan Singh, Ex-Soldier of the Khalsa Army was became a Kuka in 1867 and soon afterwards made a Suba by Guru Ram Singh. He visited Kabul, Ghazni and other places many times and made converts. After the deportation of Guru Ram Singh, Gurcharan Singh was the most active Kuka moving between Punjab and Central Asia to persuade the Russians for giving help. He was about 75 years old. Even at this stage he was very strong. According to Government records:—

> "Though an old man he is physically very strong and active undergoing great fatigue. He is remarkably erect and a very good specimen of a Sikh soldier."

On a secret information, given by Gulab Khan, Gurcharan Singh was arrested in May 1881 and placed under personal restraint at Mooltan under Regulation III of 1818.

Gurcharan Singh was released from surveillance on 7th September 1886. —Jaswinder Singh

---

Movements of Baba Gurcharan Singh Kuka

Docket No. 295 (Camp), dated 9th December 1880.

From:— Lieut-Col. W.G. Waterfield, Commr. and Supdt., Peshawar Division.

To:— W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

In continuation of this office No. 292 of 19th November 1880, forwards, for perusal, translations of certain letters

written by Gurcharan Singh to the Russian General at Samarkand, together with notes by that same individual whose statements were previously forwarded under my No. 267 of the 2nd November, and my No. 292 of 19th November, and who has put the letters written by Gurcharan Singh into our hands. Also forwards a copy of a demi-official from Major Henderson with an English translation of the original Gurmukhi papers.

2. Further, states that a copy of this correspondence has been forwarded to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

No. 296 (Camp), dated 9th December 1880.
Endorsed by Commissioner, Peshawar Division.

Copy of above, with copy of enclosures, forwarded to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, for information, in continuation of this office No. 294, dated 7th December 1880.

(Confidential)

No. 1946, dated Lahore, 18th November 1880.

From :—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

To :— A.C. Lyall, Esq., C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Deptt.

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Government of India, an abstract translation of certain papers received from Turkistan regarding communications said to be carried on between the Russian Government officers and Native Chiefs and others in India, etc.

Translation of a letter (original in Hindi character) from BABA GURCHARAN (this man has signed himself as BABA to avoid his being recognized), to the General at Samarkand, dated 3rd October 1880.

MOOLA, Hindu, Shikarpuri, and other Shikarpuri Hindus,

who had left Indejan and Kokand, accompanied me from Tashkurghan to Peshawar. Here they gave information to Golab Singh[1] against me and Golab Khan and wished to have us put to death. I am setting out for the Punjab and Golab Khan is proceeding to Kabul with this letter to you. All the Shikarpuris in your dominions have a secret understanding with Golab Singh and are in communication with him. They give him all sorts of information connected with your territories. They are untrustworthy, seeing that they trade with profit in your dominions, and spend their earnings comfortably in Golab Singh's territory: and in spite of all this they speak ill of you and abuse you. Had we not escaped, we should have been killed; as, had Golab Singh come to know about us, he would have ordered us either to be hanged or blown from a gun. Golab Singh will make a great display at the Durbar which is to be held at Lahore, and I will send you any information that I can gain regarding this subsequently. Golab Khan is your faithful servant, so you may give him some good appointment.

I consider myself as much a son of yours as of Baba Sahib Ram Singh. The Khalsas' (Sikhs') respects for an attachment to the Russians will manifest itself when they come to the Punjab. I would remind you I had predicted what the Baba Sahib also wrote to you in the letter which I read to you and sent to you in a verbal message which I delivered to you, namely, that on your giving out your intention of marching on India, a Mahammadan would first come as your friend, and after defeating the hat-wearing nation would capture their possessions. Do you read the Baba's letter, which is in Gurmukhi character, and discuss it with the Emperor, and then judge for yourself whether our prediction has not come to pass. I am alluding to Abdul Rahman Khan, who was your agent, and who without the force of arms took the country from the English. In like manner the Emperor may believe in all that we say. I need say no more on this subject.

Convey my best respects to the Gobarnath and to all whom this letter may reach, also to the Emperor, the Empress, their son and the daughter Mary. Give my compliments to

1. British Government—a secret indication—Compiler.

Ramchand Tora.

I have reached the Punjab, and will now go on to see the Baba, after which I will write reply to your letter and inform you of whatever the Baba says.

This letter will go from Peshawar by hand of Golab Khan to the General at Samarkand, who may send it on to the Gobarnath at Tashkand, and he may submit it to the Emperor as soon as possible.

P.S.—*Note by Golab Khan.*—It is a matter of great regret that the English Government did not order the apprehension of this man (Gurcharan). He had with him, as he told me himself, a letter in the handwriting of the Russian Emperor addressed to Baba Ram Singh. He had also some dresses from the Russians, together with some presents and letters for Baba Ram Singh. The letters contained directions as to what addresses he should write. I have come a long distance to present myself before the British Government. I have gone through many difficulties during my travels through the hills and lost my horse on the way. All this I have done solely in the interests of the British Government. Now, finding that the Government did not need this. I regret the trouble that I have taken.

In his letters to the Russians Gurcharan means the British Government by the name Golab Singh, so that it may not be known to whom allusion is made.

The annexed letter (in Hindi Character) is written by Gurcharan Singh.

Translation of a letter dated 27th October 1880 (original in Gurmukhi character) from GURCHARAN SINGH, Subadar of BABA RAM SINGH, KUKA, to the General at Samarkand and the Gobarnath at Tashkand.

After compliments.—Convey my respects to the Emperor and bring to his notice that I have forwarded a letter by the hand of Golab Khan, brother of Syad Khan.

Compliments to Syad Khan, Turmalai Hindu, Baba Turm

Sal, and Shankar Rai.

The Englishmen generally say here, how will the Russians be able to advance against them when they have been confused by the Chinese, who are their allies. But the notables here Thurumsalis and others, generally say that what the Englishmen have given out is incorrect, as it has been announced in the newspapers and is generally known that the Russians are encamped three marches from Herat on the other side of Oxus.

The Baba Sahib was given permission by the English Government[1] to come back to the Punjab, but he would not return, saying he can perform his religious devotions there better than here, as people will interrupt him here.

If anyone come to your territories from India under the pretence (as Iman Baksh pretended) that he has murdered an Englishman and therefore fled, or alleges any other pretext, you may consider him as sent secretly by the English and imprison him at once, as the spies whom they send are in the habit of putting forward such pretexts as these.

I will go to see the Baba Sahib in the island, and will either convey any message he sends to you myself, or will send it by hand of Esar Singh, my grandson.

Of your messengers, Gholam Rasul and Shanker Rai, the former has started for Lahore, where a levee will be held, and there will be a large meeting of people from all quarters; the latter will remain with me for a few days.

1. Sir Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur in his letter dated 21st September 1880 addressed to Private Secty., to Lieut. Governor, Punjab informed that 'Ram Singh, in prospect of speedy return, has desired no more visits from his followers, who should devote themselves to religious ceremonies in expectation of Russia.'

—In a letter (Hukamnama) brought by Narain Singh s/o Dewa Singh during the year 1879, Guru Ram Singh wrote—"I will either come back before the year is out or a year hence you send some one to me."

—During the year 1880, British authorities were actively thinking on conditional release of Guru Ram Singh. This was, however, not accepted by Guru Ram Singh.

—Compiler.

Golab Khan deserves some reward, and should be treated with consideration.

Translation of a letter, dated 27th October 1880, from GURCHARAN SINGH to SYAD KHAN.

After compliments—I arrived safely at Peshawar on the 27th October. I met Golab Khan, your brother, in the Government serai in Peshawar.

As regards the news connected with India, Rangoon is the island where Baba Ram Singh is. Burma Raja lived there. It is now in the possession of the English Government. Its residents are descended from Burma Raja, and they have all submitted to the Baba Sahib, who has prayed for their victory. Encouraged by his prayer they have commenced war with the English Government, which was the reason for the withdrawal of troops from Kabul.

After the outbreak of this disturbance in Rangoon, four English officers (Lords) came over from England to interview the Baba Sahib.

Three of them asked him each separately what his wishes were, but he did not make any reply. Then the fourth officer enquired of him whether he wanted to go to Punjab or wished to remain there. In reply, he said that he had no wish to do either. The last officer then said that the Baba could return to Punjab if he would abstain from causing disturbances. The Baba rejoined that some one else had appeared to fight the English, and that he had no power to prevent him.

The officers then returned to England. This occurred in the month of *Assu* (September and October). They also asked the Baba whether I was his Suba who had gone to the Russians. He replied no, as I eat flesh, and his disciples did not.

The English officers in the Punjab have been making enquiries in the Gujranwala district and also from the residents

of my village as to what is my character. Everyone said that I was a good man, disciple of the Guru Sahib and was held in universal respect, and that I was in the habit of travelling in different countries. My grandson, Esar Singh, has safely arrived in Peshawar. All that I have written has been told me by him, and I am making over the letter to Golab Khan. Esar Singh is 21 years of age, is very intelligent, and has acquired a good knowledge of Gurmukhl.

GURCHARAN SINGH and Golab Khan are loyal: protect him and grant him any post.

Had Golab Singh*, been made award, he would have been either executed or blown away from a gun.

O Nathji ! please give this person a good post. Best compliments to Saida Khanji, Jhandar, Gobarnath and to the King.

O Nathji ! Baba has written to Jhandar that Mula Shikarpuria and others of Shikarpur from Andijan and Kokand joined in the way at Peshawer.

They slandered Baba and Golab Khan to Golab Singh. Golab Khan being afraid ran away to Kabul, and Baba to his home. Every person of Shikarpur who comes is complaining. All are in secrecy with Golab Singh. A great Durbar (Jalsa) will be held at Lahore; its particulars will be sent to you. Golab Khan deserves a post, so give him a good post. He is loyal; this is the request of Baba. As I am a son of Baba, in the same manner yours. Give my humble compliments to the King and to all, my compliments to Gobarnath and to Queen, compliments to the daughter of the King. My Ram Ram to Ram Chand.

Signature of Baba.

Dated 30th October 1880.

---

*Gulab Singh means British Government—Compiler.

(Confidential)

No. 688.

From:—W.M. Young, Esquire.
Secretary to Government, Punjab and its Dependencies.

To:— A.C. Lyall, Esquire, C.B.
Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Dated Lahore, 5th April 1881.

Foreign.

Sir,

Communications have been addressed to you from time to time regarding the proceedings of one Gurcharan Singh, son of Atar Singh, Virk Jat, of Chakparana, in the Sialkot district, who has been for many years in the habit of visiting Central Asia, and has been suspected of conveying intelligence from the Russian authorities in Central Asia to members of the Kuka sect. Gurcharan Singh has recently returned to the Punjab from one of his journeys, and, on information received in the Secret Department, has been arrested, and is now in detention at Lahore.

2. From a perusal of all the facts which have been collected regarding Gurcharan Singh, the Lieutenant-Governor has arrived at the conclusion that it is not expedient that he should remain at liberty, as he will certainly continue to act in the future as the medium of communication between the Russian authorities in Central Asia and the disaffected Kukas. An account of Gurcharan Singh has been compiled from the materials available for the purpose, copy of which is herewith forwarded; and Sir Robert Egerton thinks that this account will establish beyond a doubt that the suspicious regarding him which have been entertained by this Government are well founded. Under these circumstances His Honor the Lieutenant Governor would recommend that, under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818, a warrant should be issued for the detention of Gurcharan Singh during the pleasure of His Excellency the Governor General-in-Council. Sir Robert Egerton does not think that the time of detention need necessarily be long; but it should be long enough to sever Gurcharan Singh's



Mahant Gurcharan Singh

connection with the Kukas, and to interrupt the intrigues in Central Asia indicated by these papers.

3. A photograph of Gurcharan Singh is herewith enclosed.

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Secretary to Government, Punjab.

(Confidential)

Gurcharan Singh, son of Atar Singh, Virk Jat, of Chakparana, in the Sialkot District, is now 75 years old. He is a descendant of Bhai Parana, a companion and disciple of Guru Nanak, who established a Dharmsala in Kabul.

When Gurcharan Singh was a boy he went to Kabul to visit the *sewaks* (disciples) of his ancestor. Bhai Parana. At the age of 18 he enlisted in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army, and continued in the service of the Sikhs until after the battle of Gujrat, 20th February 1849, when he, with the rest of the Sikh soldiers, laid down his arms.

Enclosures 1 & 14

During the time he was in the Sikh service he twice visited Kabul, on one occasion to obtain money from his sewaks, and on the other to collect information for Raja Lal Singh.

After the annexation of the Punjab by the British Government, Gurcharan Singh went to his home, but continued his visits to his sewaks in Kabul.

About 1867 he became a Kuka, and soon afterwards was made a suba or officer of the sect. In 1868 he again went to Kabul and remained there 4 years, visiting Ghazni and other places.

He, last, left his home in 1878. In May 1879 he was seen in Samarkand and Katta Kurghan by Gulab Khan, a man who has given a great deal of information to Government. He had brought a letter to the Russsians from Guru Ram Singh.

Enclosure 2.

He was treated with great consideration by the Russians, and was given dresses of honour and sums of money. Imam

Bakhsh, a man who had been sent to Turkistan by Sir L. Cavagnari, was denounced by Gurcharan Singh as a British spy, and was imprisoned accordingly. Gurcharan Singh was told by the Russian authorities to return to the Punjab and strengthen the frindship established between the Russians and the Kukas.

In April 1880 he forwarded from Tash Kurghan a letter addressed by Budh Singh of Bhaini, brother of Guru Ram Singh, the head of the Kuka sect, to the Russian Governor-General. In October 1880 he returned to Peshawar and on meeting Gulab Khan, whom he believed to be a Russian agent about to return to Turkistan, he gave him letters to the Russian Governor-General and to the Deputy Governor of Katta Kurghan. These letters were made over by Gulab Khan to the Commissioner of Peshawar. Reference is made in them to letters from the Russians to Guru Ram Singh, and to Gurcharan Singh's intention to proceed to Rangoon to obtain the Guru's replies to them. Gurcharan Singh subsequently came down to Lahore, and, in disobedience of orders, left without reporting his departure; he then proceeded by a circuitous route to Bhaini, the headquarter of the Kuka sect, where he obtained an interview with Budh Singh. On return to his village he was arrested by the police and sent to Lahore.

On his being confined in the same cell with Gulab Khan, who, he was told, had been arrested as a Russian spy, he confided to him that he had sent the letters which he had brought from the Russian authorities in Turkistan for Guru Ram Singh to Bhaini, from whence they had been forwarded to Burma through Sham Singh of Sirhali.

Enclosure No. 9

Some days after the particulars of Gulab Khan's interview with Gurcharan Singh had been recorded, a report was received from Barma that the guard at Mergui had arrested Mian Singh, son of Sham Singh, of Sirhali, in the enclosure occupied by Ram Singh.

Enclosure No. 11

There is, therefore, every reason to believe, 1st, that Gurcharan Singh took letters from the Kukas to the Russians in Turkistan; 2nd, that he denounced as a British spy Imam Bakhsh, the man who had been sent to Samarkand by

Sir L. Cavagnari (Imam Bakhsh having a short time ago pointed him out as the Gurcharan Singh who accused him) ; and 3rdly, that he was the bearer of letters from the Russians to the Kukas, which were taken by Mian Singh to Ram Singh at Mergui.

Gurcharan Singh is certainly hostile to the British Government. Though an old man, he is physically very strong and capable of undergoing great fatigue. He is remarkably erect, and is a very good specimen of a Sikh soldier.

He has three wounds, which he says he received in the service of the Sikhs. Mentally, he is quite equal to carrying on a political intrigue. That he was employed by Raja Lal Singh to collect information regarding Kabul affairs, shews that he is a man of superior intelligence; while his being created a Suba by the Kukas, proves that he is looked upon by them as a man of great influence among the sect.

If Gurcharan Singh is allowed to remain at large, he will lose no opportunities of recounting the honors conferred on him by the Russians, and of enlarging on the benefits to be reaped by the Kukas in the event of the Russians obtaining possession of the Punjab.

The information of which the above is a summary will be found in detail and chronologically arranged below :

ENCLOSURE NO. 1

Extract from Kuka List.

Gurcharan Singh, Mahant, son of Attar Singh ; occupation, cultivator; resident of village Chak Ram Das, Police Station Satrah, District Sialkot; descriptive roll :—

Light complexion : aquiline features : large eyes ; white beard and moustache; height, about 5 feet and 11 inches; age, about 70 years. General appearance, a fine and hand-some specimen of a Sikh. He knows Gurmukhi and Pashtu.

Antecedents, character, &c.—Gurcharan Singh belongs to the well-known family of Baba Parana, who during the lifetime of Guru Baba Nanak, travelled all over Afghanistan, visiting Kandahar, Ghazni, Bokhara, and Kabul, and met with considerable proselytizing success amongst Aroras and Sunars. At Kabul, he erected a dharmsala (Rest-House), which is still called after him, *Parana Sahib ki dharmsala*. During the Sikh regime, Gurcharan Singh, while in service as a trooper in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army, took leave and went to Kabul, and was there at the time of the annexation of the Punjab by the English. On his return home, he settled down as a zamindar. Some twelve years ago, in acknowledgment of his hospitable reception, on an occasion of Guru Ram Singh's visit to Chak Ram Das, Gurcharan Singh was created Mahant, and after the Guru's deportation he travelled about, holding Kuka meetings and making converts. Since then, he has paid several visits to Kabul, generally leaving home in April, and returning about November. While at Kabul, he lodges in the dharmsala of his ancestor. In about April 1879, he left home for Kabul and apparently has not been heard of since, though his friends are in possession of letters sent by him from Kabul during previous visits to the city. Musammat Dayan, his wife, is in the village, in somewhat straitened circumstances. His son, Jiwan Singh, aged 40 years, left home about August 1879, ostensibly to search for employment, but his present whereabouts is not known. It is believed, however, that Jiwan Singh frequently visits Peshawar, where his son Isur Singh is employed in the Commissariat Department. Gurcharan Singh's younger brother, Gurmukh Singh, aged about 60 years, and his two sons, Mangal Singh and Jawand Singh, who are likewise Kukas, are living in Chak Ram Das. Gurcharan Singh possesses very little land—18 kanals at Chak Ram Das and 8 bigahs at Raja Dawali, in the same neighbourhood. Gurcharan Singh returned to the Punjab from Kabul during the last week of October 1880.

———

ENCLOSURE NO. 2

(Extract from Gulab Khan's letter to Sir Louis Cavagnari, forwarded by the latter to the Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, on 19th August 1879).

On 1st May 1879, a Kuka named Gurcharan Singh of the village of Chak-chak (Chak Ras Das) of the Gujranwala (Sialkot) District; a tall man with a white beard and about fifty years old, arrived in Katta Kurghan from India. He brought a Hindi letter purporting to be from Ram Singh, the Kuka leader, and signed by several others. This letter began with *salaams* to the Russian Emperor, the Governor-General, and the other Russian officers, and went on to say that Ram Singh was the spiritual leader of 315,000 Kukas, all brave soldiers; that the tyrannical British Government had imprisoned him in Rangoon, but that his younger brother at Ludhiana kept him fully *au fait* with what was going on; that the British were afraid of losing the Punjab by the Kukas; but the sacred book (the Granth) said that the Russians would go to India and the Khalsa would assist them to expel the English, and then both the Russians and the Khalsa would rule over all India.

The letter being translated into Russian and forward to the Governor-General, he telegraphed for Gurcharan Singh to be sent on to Samarkand. The kuka was received with great honor by the Russians, and on the 12th June he received about Rs. 700 in Russian notes and three choghas of silk. A Shikarpuri merchant, called Jowalla, was ordered to entertain him, and he is now in Samarkand.

ENCLOSURE NO. 3

(Extract from Gulab Khan's letter of 20th January 1980, brought to Lahore by Mirza Ikram.)

On the 1st October 1879, Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, Suba of Baba Ram Singh, whom I have mentioned before, was given

2,500 tangas and 7 choghas, and told to return to the Punjab and strengthen the friendship between the Russians and the Kukas. He left for Balkh, and is now at Tash Kurghan in Afghan Turkistan.

On the 4th December 1879, a letter was received by the Russians from Gurcharan Singh, from Tash Kurghan, by the hand of Maya Hindu, to the effect that the British army had marched from Kabul for Balkh, and that Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan was already on the Balkh side of Bamian with the advance guard. Maya was given a reward of 500 tangas and one chogha by General Abramoff at Samarkand and, on receipt of this news, the Russians gave Abdul Rahman 400,000 tangas and told him to proceed to Balkh.

ENCLOSURE NO. 4

(Extract from statement of Gulab Khan—taken by the Commissioner of Peshawar.)

On the 9th April 1880, Gurcharan Singh sent another letter to Samarkand by Narain Das, caste Acharj of Hazru, in the Rawalpindi District. This was from Baba Ram Singh, but in the handwriting of his younger brother who is in Ludhiana. It stated that Gurcharan Singh had been deputed secretly to the General, but that this secret had become known throughout India, so Gurcharan Singh could not return, and that all the Englishmen in India had gone with the Kabul expedition.

ENCLOSURE NO. 5

(Statement of Gulab Khan to Mr. C. Brown on the 27th November 1880).

When I was returning from Katta Kurghan I saw Gurcharan Singh at Tash Kurghan. He accused me of giving information regarding him, and said that Maya had heard from Imam Bakhsh that I had sent information to Kabul. I denied that I had done so, and told him I was about to return to Katta Kurghan.

When I reached Peshawar I ascertained from two goldsmiths of the Rawalpindi District, whom I had seen in the sarai at Tash Kurghan, that Gurcharan Singh was coming down the Khyber. I accordingly sent a man back to Jalalabad to watch him. I told the man that Gurcharan Singh owed me money.

When the caravan reached Jamrud, my messenger came and told me, and I went myself to Jamrud and saw Gurcharan Singh, and followed him into Peshawar, and noticed where he put up. I gave the messenger Rs. 25.

I immediately gave Ghulam Ahmed, Extra Assistant Commissioner, information of Gurcharan Singh's arrival, and suggested that he should be arrested and searched. This, however, was not done. Had he been searched. I am sure papers would have been found on him.

I afterwards met him in the sarai under the Fort, and, on my assuring him that I was on the point of going back to Katta Kurghan, he gave me two letters for the Russian officers, which I made over to the Commissioner of Peshawar. The letter to Sayad Khan was to the effect that the people of Burmah had become the murids (disciples) of Ram Singh and were in rebellion, and that in consequence the British had been obliged to withdraw their troops from Kabul: **that Ram Singh had been offered the option of returning to the Punjab, on condition that he would raise no disturbance, to which he had replied that the matter was beyond his power, as the man who was to fight with the British was already born**: that the British had given out that they had nothing to fear from the Russians, as they (the latter) were fully occupied with the Chinese; that the people of India, however, knew that the Russians were within three marches of Herat: that his grandson Isur Singh had given him this information, and that this Isur Singh was a sharp young man of twenty-one years of age who would visit Samarkand, &c.; that there was about to be a Darbar at Lahore to which Ghulam Rasul was going: that Shankar Rai was with him (Gurcharan Singh) that Gulab Khan was a good man, &c.

The second letter to the "General" (i.e. General Kaufman),

was to the effect that certain Shikarpuris had treated him (Gurcharan Singh) very badly, and had given information against him and Gulab Khan, and further acted as spies for the British Government (Gulab Singh) : that when the king's army came to the Punjab, the Khalsa would assist them : that the Baba (Ram Singh) had foretold that a Musalman would come from the west and defeat the "topewala", and the Musalman no doubt was Abdul Rahman. So the Russians should consider all the Kuka sayings as true. *Salaams* to all the Russian Princes, &c., also to Ramcharan, Tora. That now that he (Gurcharan) had reached the Punjab, he would give the letter from the Russians to the Baba Sahib and obtain a reply : that this letter was forwarded by the hand of Gulab Khan to the Gobarnath at Tashkand, who was to send it on to the Czar.

Memo By Mr. C. Brown

Gurcharan Singh, after leaving Peshawar went to Hazru in the Rawalpindi District, thence through Rawalpindi to his home at Chakparana. On 19th December he reached Lahore. He was ordered by the police not to leave without permission, but on 21st December he went away secretly.

Gulab Khan was directed to search for him.

ENCLOSURE NO. 6

Report by Gulab Khan, dated 4th January 1881.

In accordance with orders I left Lahore on 21st December 1880 and went to Amritsar. I stayed there 22nd and 23rd, but obtained no clue to Gurcharan Singh, so on night of 23rd I proceeded to Ludhiana. On the afternoon of 24th I reached Bhaini, and put up with the police there, as they were the only Muhammadans in the village. I gave out that I was a trader and had lost all my goods and had come to ask Budh Singh to assist me. The police told me I should obtain nothing from Budh Singh as he abhorred Muhammadans. I discovered that Gurcharan Singh had not visited

Bhaini, so I returned to Amritsar on 25th. On 26th I came back to Lahore, and on morning of 27th proceeded to Wazirabad by train and thence to Sialkot by ekka. On 28th I went by ekka to Chakparana (or Chak Rama Das), which is about 32 miles from Sialkot in the direction of Lahore. On arrival I went to Gurcharan Singh's house, but learnt that he had not returned home. I saw his son Jiwan Singh, and succeeded in satisfying him that I was a messenger from Sayad Khan. That night I left with Jiwan Singh for Chak Hindu, a village about 2 miles east of Gujranwala. I put up in a masjid, and about 2 A.M. I was visited by several Kukas, among whom were the following :—

Attar Singh, Lambardar of Chak Hindu,
Dial Singh, son of above,
Arur Singh, Tarkhan, of Chak Hindu,
Jaswant Singh, Jat. Ditto.
Jiwan Singh, Sadh, Ditto.
Alla Singh, Ditto.
Boota Singh, of Virtaria,
Hukma Singh, Ditto.

Boota Singh and Hukma Singh had been sent for from their village. These men asked me a number of questions of test if I was really an emissary from the Russia and not English Government spy. I satisfied them that I had been sent by Sayad Khan on which they took me with great respect and touched my feet, &c.

They told me that Gurcharan Singh, after leaving Hazru, had put up at Rawalpindi with a Kuki named Lachmi and had left his saddle bags, &c., with her and a Kuka named Narain Singh, who live in the Raja Bazaar near the Diagi Koi Shibdawala, and had proceeded to the village in which his son Jiwan Singh had been married; and afterwards, on finding that no search was made for him, had come on to his home at Chak Ram Das. That from Chak Ram Das, he had sent by Dial Singh, son of Attar Singh, of Chak Hindu, and Arur Singh, Tarkhan, of the same village, some papers and a portrait of the Czar to Budh Singh at Bhaini. That he had kept some

other papers and another portrait of the Czar himself and had proceeded to Lahore via Shekhupura. They also said that policemen had been searching for Gurcharan Singh as he had disappeared from Lahore; that although they had denied to the police that they knew anything of his movements, they really believed that after leaving Lahore Gurcharan Singh had gone either to Changa Manga or to Narli, a village on the Bari Doab Canal, about 24 kos east of Lahore, in the Amritsar District.

These Kukas agreed that it was most necessary that I should meet Gurcharan Singh, so they deputed Jiwan Singh and Alla Singh, of Chak Hindu, and Jiwan Singh, Gurcharan Singh's son, to assist me in finding him.

On leaving Chak Hindu we went to the Kamoke Railway Station and proceeded to Lahore by train, reaching there on the night of 29th. On 30th I telegraphed to Muhammad Amir, Inspector of Police, to come to Lahore and meet me. He arrived in the course of the day and and gave me Rs. 30 for travelling expenses. On 31st I sent Alla Singh to Amritsar and Jiwan Singh, Sadh to Changa Manga, while I myself with Jiwan Singh, Gurcharan Singh's son, proceeded by ekka to Narli. On arrival there Jiwan Singh went to the house of Beghail Singh, who, on learning our business, invited us to his house. Baghail Singh told us that Gurcharan Singh had stayed with him for two nights and had left seven days before for Bhaini, going on foot from village to village. Baghail Singh also said that he himself had recently returned from visiting Guru Ram Singh, and had brought some papers for despatch to the Russian authorities in Turkistan, and that they had been sent by the hands of two Hindus and two Mussalmans. Baghail Singh advised me to go on to Bhaini and await Gurcharan Singh's arrival there. I and Jiwan Singh went on by ekka to Amritsar, reaching there on 1st January. I sent Jiwan Singh to the Golden Temple, and went myself to the telegraph office and telegraphed to Muhammad Amir, Inspector of Police, asking him to proceed to Sanehwal by the next morning train. By the same train Jiwan Singh and myself took tickets for Sanehwal. I succeeded in speaking to Muhammad Amir and telling him what I had done. He got out at Ludhiana, but arranged to

meet me at Sanehwal village the next day. On arrival at Sanehwal, Jiwan Singh and I proceeded to the village of Arain to the house of one Mangal Singh. Mangal Singh told us that Gurcharan Singh had stayed with him for two days and had two interviews with Budh Singh, one at night in the village of Bhaini, the other in the day time in the jungle near a "samadh" which is situated between Arain and Bhaini. Also that Budh Singh had directed Gurcharan Singh to return to Turkistan at once and there to petition the Russian Governor-General regarding the tyranny practised by the British towards the Kuka sect. Further, that he was not to get into the train at Sanehwal or Ludhiana, but at some station west of Phillour.

Mangal Singh also stated that Gurcharan Singh had told him that he had brought Rs. 1,500 in gold from Turkistan and had given Budh Singh Rs. 600 and a chogha.

Mangal Singh sent a man with Jiwan Singh to Bhaini soon after our arrival at Arain, and the next day Budh Singh sent word for me to meet him in the jungle near the "samadh" already mentioned. The next day (3rd January) I met Budh Singh in the jungle. He was very polite to me, offered me money and clothes, and said that he and his whole sect were anxiously awaiting the time when the Russians would cross the Oxus, as then numbers of Kukas would flock to their standard. He impressed on Jiwan Singh the necessity for his finding Gurcharan Singh and effecting a meeting between him and me.

After this Jiwan Singh and myself returned to the Railway Station, and I then sent Jiwan Singh by train to Kamoke with instructions to search for this father at Shekhupura, Chak Hindu and Chak Ram Das. I myself came on to Lahore for further orders.

ENCLOSURE NO. 7

Report by Gulab Khan, dated 20th January 1881.

On the 13th January I left Lahore for Gujranwala by rail, and proceeded thence to the village of Hindu Chak. Shortly

after I reached there Jiwan Singh, Gurcharan Singh's son, also arrived and gave me and the Kukas who were assembled there the following particulars, viz:—"That his father had returned to his home and had heard from him (Jiwan Singh) an account of my search for him; also particulars regarding the interview between Budh Singh, of Bhaini, and myself; that Gurcharan Singh had become much alarmed and had declared that I was a Government spy, as the story of my having been to Kabul and seen Sayad Khan there was manifestly untrue: 1stly on account of the difficulty of performing a journey from Peshawar to Kabul and back in six weeks; and 2ndly; owing to the impossibility of Sayad Khan visiting Kabul at this season of the year; that he had suspected me in Turkisan, but now he clearly saw that I had undone him, and that he considered that the best thing he could now do was to give himself up to the authorities.

(Jiwan Singh continued) "that acting on this impulse his father had then and there disposed of the papers and things that he had about him, and had sent the *chaukidar* of the village to inform the Deputy Inspector of Police of his arrival. The police shortly afterwards arrived, searched his house, and took him into custody."

The Kukas on hearing this account were much preplexed and did not know what to do. Luckily, at this juncture, Isur Singh, Gurcharan Singh's grandson, arrived from Peshawar, and, on seeing me, assured them that there was no doubt as to my being the brother of Sayad Khan, as he had seen me with his grandfather at Peshawar, and had seen the letter for the Russian authorities put into my hands, one of the letters having been written by him at the grandfather's dictation.

This testimony to my identity had a good effect on the Kukas assembled. They determined to send Arur Singh to Bhaini to tell Budh Singh of Gurcharan Singh's arrest, and to suggest that the letter for the Russians should be made over to me for delivery in Turkistan.

Arur Singh left by the mail train on night of 13th. He returned from Bhaini on 18th with the following reply, viz:— "Budh Singh sent his compliments to me and that he had now

no letter for the Russians, having already despatched the reply to the one he had received by Gurcharan Singh, and that the bearer of the reply must have already reached Kabul.

"That I should go to Kabul and find out Mangal Singh, of Hazru, and remain with him until the spring, when, if Gurcharan Singh was released, he and two others would be sent to Russians with letters and presents.

"That if preferred going on to Samarkand I could do so, as his messengers would find their way there themselves and would reach there by the beginning of June."

The message ended with compliments, which I was to give to the Russian authorities.

As I found that I could do no more good at Hindu Chak, I made the excuse that I wanted to see a friend in a neighbouring village, and so returned to Lahore, where I arrived on the evening of 18th.

ENCLOSURE NO. 8

Report by Mr. C. Brown, dated 18th January 1881.

Gurcharan Singh arrived from Sialkot on night of 16th and is confined in the Anarkalli lock-up separate from other prisoners.

I had an interview with him last night. He admits that he went to Kabul, but says he did not proceed beyond. He says he first went to Kabul soon after Ranjit Singh's death, when he was a "Ghorcharra" under Attar Singh of Chima Thana, Killa Sobha Singh, in the Sialkot District, who was an officer in Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh's army; and that his reason for going to Kabul was to visit the "Chelas" of his ancestor, Bhai Purana, a follower of Guru Nanak, who had founded a "dharmsala" in Kabul.

He states that he was made a Kuka by Mahant Jota Singh, of Gil, in the Sialkot District, about 10 years ago. With regard to his recent visit to Kabul, he says he left the Punjab 28 months ago, and went to Swat, where he spent a year in going

about from village to village. That he then went to Pesh Bolak, and so on to Kabul, where he visited the "chelas" of his ancestor, and afterwards returned home.

He also denies that he visited Bhaini the other day. He says he intended to go there, but changed his mind, owing to the restrictions imposed on visitors to that place. For certain reasons I have not even hinted that we know of his visit to Turkistan, or that he had an interview with Budh Singh on 31st December and 1st January; but his reticence regarding his journey to Russian territory shows that it was performed for a political purpose, otherwise he would be a communicative regarding that part of his travels as he is regarding his visit to Kabul.

ENCLOSURE NO. 9

Report by Mr C. Brown dated 31st January 1881.

I am endeavouring to obtain from Gurcharan Singh a history of himself. I do not, however, expect to learn particulars of much value, as he still says he has never been north of Kabul. His great object at present is to obtain his release without giving bail; and to this end he has offered his services to Government as a news-agent, promising to send information regarding emissaries from Kashmir and other Native States to Kabul and other countries. He says he acted as a spy in the time of the Sikhs, and used to travel as far as Kabul then.

Gurcharan Singh has occasionally been taken out for a drive in a palki gari; so I arranged for him, when out driving, to meet Gulab Khan handcuffed in charge of a constable, and for him to learn that he had been arrested at Gujranwala as a vagrant.

The next day, pursuing the subject of his acting as a Government news-agent, I told Gurcharan Singh that if he wanted to act as news-agent at Kabul he must first of all give information regarding suspicious persons who were wandering about India. He agreed to this, and said he would point out such persons if he saw them.

I then told him that a suspicious character had been arrested at Gujranwala, and that I was anxious to know if he was a spy or not. Gurcharan Singh at once suggested that the man should be put in the havelat with him, to enable him to talk with him and ascertain who he really was.

This was accordingly done, and Gulab Khan was sent to the Anarkalli havelat and locked up with Gurcharan Singh.

The next day Gurcharan Singh was asked for his report on him, to which he replied that "Abdulla" was not a spy but merely an agent for a merchant in Kabul named Abdul Rashid, and that there was nothing suspicious about him.

On this Gulab Khan was removed from the havelat, ostensibly to be sent back to the city look-up.

Gulab Khan's account of the night he spent in the havelat with Gurcharan Singh I give in his own words :

"It was dark when I was put in the havelat, and for some time neither of us spoke. At last Gurcharan asked me who I was, to which I replied by asking him the same question. He said he had come up from Delhi and had been arrested in Lahore most unjustly. Pretending to recognize his voice, I then addressed him by name, and, speaking angrily acussed him of getting me into trouble. He then felt at my feet and declared he had not betrayed me. I said that I was certain he had betrayed me, as in consequence of what he had told the Kukas at Chakparana they had disturbed me and sent me on a vain errand to another village, soon after which the police had arrested me as I was getting into the train at Gujranwala.

"He swore that I was mistaken, and said that he was in a position to do me a service, as the authorities had put me in the havelat with him for him to ascertain who I was; and that, instead of denouncing me as a spy, he would say that I was an innocent trader, the gumashta of a firm in Kabul. I thanked him, and we then agreed that I was to be represented as the gumashta of a merchant of Kabul.

"He then told me what he had done since he left Peshawar. With regard to his movements since leaving Lahore, on 19th

December, his account corresponded with what I had already learnt. He enquired where I had been since we parted at Peshawar; I told him I had taken his letters to Kabul, and there had met Sayad Khan, who had accompanied a Russian Mission; that Sayad Khan, on reading the letters, had sent me back to the Punjab with instructions to obtain replies from Baba Budh Singh and further particulars from him (Gurcharan Singh), and to bring them to him at Kabul, after which he would move down to Jalalabad; that I had, on return from Kabul, searched all over the province for him, and had seen Budh Singh, but had not succeeded in obtaining the letters to Sayad Khan.

"On this Gurcharan Singh said that he hoped to be released soon, when he and I would go to Jummoo, and obtain from the Maharaja letters to the Russians, which, with Budh Singh's reply, we would take to Kabul, and give to Sayad Khan: that he had lately heard of the arrival of a Russian Mission at Kabul, so could now understand how Sayad Khan had reached there.

"I then said that in case I was released and he was detained, I hoped that he would give me a letter to Budh Singh, which would enable me to obtain his reply to the Russians.

"To this he said it would be unsafe for him to give me a letter, as on my being released I should not doubt be searched; but that if I was released before he was, I was to go to Bhaini and give Budh Singh the following message, which would satisfy him that I was sent by him (Gurcharan Singh), as it contained particulars regarding his recent visit to Bhaini, which were only known to Budh Singh and himself. The message ran as follows :

"This is Gulab Khan, brother of Sayad Khan, whom I have mentioned in my letters and also in conversation with you. I send him to you to obtain letters to Sayad Khan. To prove to you that he is sent by me I have told him to repeat to you the particulars of my late visit to Bhaini, viz., that I first went to the huts of some Sadhs (Kukas) who live to the north of the village; that I sent one of them to you; that I came to the "Dera" secretly at night; that I first went to the

room on the ground-floor, but afterwards, at your suggestion went up-stairs; that I produced a chogha and put it on your shoulders; that I gave you some fruit which you began to eat, but which I said was heating and was better in "polao," that I produced a Russian parwana and likeness was of the Czar in which one ear appeared to hang over, that I told you that this likeness for the Maharaja of Jummoo, so I could not give it to you, but that you could keep it for the present; that I commenced to read some letters, but you told me to explain the contents, as reading occupied a long time; that you burnt a number of papers which I produced, among which were some maps of Turkistan, particulars regarding the Russian army and letters from Hindus of Samarkand, Tash Kurghan, etc. to friends in India, which you considered it was not advisable for me to deliver; that you told me to be very careful, as if papers were found on me you would be ruined; that I assured you that rather than divulge your name I would be blown away from a gun or would eat and drink with the English; that you told me to go back to Kabul and stay with Mangal Singh of Hazru, to whom you had already sent Jass Ram of Patiala and three others (one Hindu and two Muhammadans) with letters in reply to those I had sent you by the hands of Dial Singh and Arur Singh; that you had sent the portrait of the Czar and the other papers I had sent by Dial Singh and Arur Singh to Guru Ram Singh by the hand of Sham Singh, Kuka of Sirhali, in the Amritsar District, who had concealed the papers in his looking-glass; that as soon as Sham Singh returned with the Guru's orders, more letters were to be sent to Turkistan. This message I have given to Gulab Khan in the Anarkali havelat, where I am confined and where he too is detained, having been arrested on suspicion. I hope, however, that he will shortly be released."

Memorandum by Mr. C. Brown

This morning I sent for Gurcharan Singh and again asked him about Gulab Khan; he affirmed that he was an innocent trader, on which I formally released Gulab Khan in Gurcharan Singh's presence. I think that Gurcharan Singh's conduct as shown above adds much weight to the evidence of Gulab Khan, and

that there is no doubt that Gurcharan Singh is decidedly hostile to the British Government.

ENCLOSURE NO. 10

Cypher Telegram, dated 4th February 1881.

From:—Lahore, —— To—Burmah,

From:—Punjab Secretary —— To—Chief Commissioner.

Reported that Sham Singh, Kuka, of Sirhali, Amritsar District, has started with communications for Ram Singh concealed in his looking-glass. Please have the man arrested, and papers intercepted, if possible.

ENCLOSURE NO. 11

No. 176. 35, dated 15th February 1881.

From:—Lieutenant-Colonel T. Lowndes, M.S.C., Inspector General of Police, British Burmah.

To:—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

I have the honor to inform you that on 24th ultimo two Kukas giving names as Mian Singh, aged 27, and Sant Singh, aged 35, arrived at Mergui by PS "Savoy" from Moulmein. Their arrival was at once reported to the Deputy Commissioner, who questioned them. Mian Singh, who appeared to be the leading spirit, said that he had served sometime in the Hong-Kong Police, that he had left it about 18 months ago, and that he left Lahore about six weeks previous to his appearance in Mergui, in search of employment in the Police; this man spoke a little English.

The Deputy Commissioner advised them to leave the place, as there was an order against enlisting men of his class in the police. They promised to leave next day. The guard over Ram Singh, composed of Burmans, was warned to be specially on the alert and was visited late at night by a European Inspector; notwithstanding which, in the morning, Mian Singh was found inside Ram Singh's enclosure; he was arrested, and, in company

with his comrade, Sant Singh, was sent to Moulmein for Commissioner's orders.

The Commissioner ordered their release, and they left for Calcutta.

ENCLOSURE NO. 12

Memorandum by Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, dated 14th February 1881.

On the 13th instant, two Sikhs, who had recently returned from Burmah, were found concealed in the house of Behari Singh, a Kuka, living at No. 6, Machooa Bazar Street, in this city. By secret enquiry I ascertained the following particulars regarding the two strangers:

Their names are—

(1)—Mian Singh, son of Sham Singh, caste Jat of Sirhali, District Amritsar.

Description—age 28 years, complexion wheat, height 5 feet 11 inches, nose flat, hazel eyes, three moles on the right side of chest.

(2)—Sant Singh, son of Dal Singh, caste Jat, Sirhali.

Description—age about 45 years, complexion dark, height 5 feet 10 inches, nose prominent, eyes black, face pitted with small-pox.

They passed through Calcutta about a month ago, but eluded police surveillance, as Mian Singh was wearing the uniform of the Hong-Kong Police, and he gave himself out to be still a member of that Force, but in fact he resigned two years ago.

Their object in visiting Burmah was to obtain an interview with Guru Ram Singh, and this object they attained through Harnam Singh, a constable on duty at the Moulmein Jail. This constable was mentioned as a go-between in my confidential report of the 7th September last. The Guru on this occasion exhorted them to devote themselves to prayer, and prophesied

a general rising in the west at no distant date, on which his followers could obtain his release.

A letter was found concealed in Mian Singh's paggree, admitted by him to be in his own handwriting, enclosed in a sealed cover ready for despatch. The letter is addressed-Tessro Singh, Harnam Singh and other leading Kukas in the Punjab. It gives a brief account of his proceedings at Burmah, and promises full details.

This letter will be forwarded to the Inspector-General, Punjab, together with a copy of this note.

I detained Mian Singh and Sant Singh during the night, and shall now permit them to return home informing the Punjab Police by wire of the hour of their departure.

Police Office,
Calcutta. (Sd/-) J. Lambert

The 14th February 1881. Deputy Commissioner of Police.

ENCLOSURE NO. 13

Report by Mr. C. Brown, dated 25th February 1881.

Regarding the sending of Sham Singh of Sarhali to Burmah, I put up papers showing (1), that Sham Singh himself has not been absent from his village for more than a few days for some months; but (2), that his son Mian Singh and one Sant Singh, also of Sarhali, were arrested in Calcutta on 13th instant, soon after disembarking from Rangoon. On Mian Singh being searched, a Gurmukhi paper attached with translation was found on him. It does not give any intelligible information beyond informing the persons addressed that he and his companion have reached Calcutta after a voyage in a steamer. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, allowed these men to proceed to their homes, but informed us of the time of their departure and of the numbers of their Railway tickets. The District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, has been directed to arrest and search them on arrival.

There can be no doubt that these are the messengers referred to by Gurcharan Singh in his conversation with Gulab Khan.

2. I have already reported the result of Gulab Khan's visit to Bhaini, and his failure to obtain a second interview with Budh Singh; also the effect that the recent visit of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor's Camp to the neighbourhood of Bhaini had on Budh Singh in making him remove all valuables from his house. I think, therefore, there is no use in Mr. Warburton's searching for papers just at present.

ENCLOSURE NO. 14

Gurcharan Singh's account of himself

I am now 75 years old. I was born at Chakparana, in the Sialkot District. My father Attar Singh was a Jat Virk, and belonged to the Kushb Gotar clan. He was a zamindar, but also obtained money from the sewaks of his ancestor Bhai Parana, who was a disciple of Guru Nanak. I have only one brother, Gurmukh Singh, who is younger than I am, and is now living at Raizadawala, a village in the Pasrur thana of the Sialkot District, where my family have lands and sewaks (i.e. disciples who contribute to the support of their spiritual leader).

I had two sons, Jiwan Singh and Gurdit Singh. The former is alive and about 40 years of age. He also has two sons, Isur Singh aged 22, and Bhagat Singh aged 6.

Gurdit Singh died a few years ago, leaving two young sons.

I studied Gurmukhi up to the age of 9, after which I worked in the fields. When I was 13, I was married at Raizadawala.

My mother's brother died when I was 18, and his wife made over all his property to me. I accordingly went to Sambrial, where my uncle's home was, and settled in his house. Two years later I left Sambrial and took my aunt to Raizadawala, where my father had lived after the death of my mother, which occurred when I was about 7 years of age. Rattan Singh, my father's brother, continued to live at Chakparana. Before

this, when I was 16, I had accompanied some people to Kabul and had stayed there a month at the "dharmsala" of my ancestor, Bhai Parana, whose sewaks gave me Rs. 600. Amir Dost Muhammed Khan was then ruling at Kabul.

Among the property left me by my maternal uncle was a good horse. When I left Sambrial I took this horse to Lahore for sale. I did not sell it, but became a trooper under Sardar Lehna Singh Sindhanwala. This was about 5 or 6 years[1] before Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death. I remained with Sardar Lehna Singh for 2 years, during which I served at Jhund, Fatahjang and in Chuck Hazara. On Sardar Lehna Singh's return to Lahore the Maharaja became angry with him and disgraced him and seized his lands.

On Sardar Lehna Singh's dismissal from court, I and some others, among whom was Sobha Singh, son of Sharm Singh, falconer to Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh, started for the Derajat to obtain employment, and I became a *sowar* under Sardar Rattan Singh Goongloo.

A years afterwards I returned to Lahore with the army of Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh. I next served under Sardar Arjan Singh, of Rungar Nangal for 6 months at Lahore, and afterwards, also in the neighbourhood of Lahore, under Diwan Kishn Kour, son of Diwal Hakim Rai. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh imprisoned Diwan Hakim Rai and his son, and I became a sowar in the service of Sardar Attar Singh of Gujarawala, in the Sialkot District, and proceeded with him to Suket and Mandi, where Sheikh Imam Din was Governor. After the death of Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh I accompanied Shekh Imam Din to Lahore. Just before this, Shekh Imam Din had sent Sardar Lehna Singh from Kulu to Lahore in irons. When Sheikh Gholam Mohay-ud-din, father of Sheikh Imam Din, became Suba of Kashmir, Sardar Attar Singh's regiment accompanied him, and I served in Kashmir for three years. After this, on return of the regiment to Lahore it was ordered to Peshawar, I obtained

1. More likely 9 or 10 years.

leave to visit my home, where my father had just died, but rejoined the regiment at Peshawar.

The troops at Peshawar were at this time under the command of Sardar Kahn Singh, Majithia. I was at Peshawar for a year, after which I returned with Sardar Attar Singh to Lahore. Shortly afterwards Attar Singh was ordered back to Peshawar, and I was quartered there for three years, during which I obtained leave and went to Kabul (my second visit). I stayed there three months. Shortly after my return to Peshawar the troops there were disbanded, and I went to my home. After a time I presented myself before Raja Lal Singh, through Bhai Amira, and asked for permission to go to Kabul again. Leave was granted me, and I was told to take notes of what was going on in Kabul. On this, my third visit, I stayed in Kabul four months, and on return to Lahore was given Rs. 100 and a "*khes*" by Raja Lal Singh.

I then rejoined Sardar Attar Singh, Gojura, and went with him to Peshawar again, where I remained till the British officers came to Lahore, and also to Peshawar. One day at Peshawar somebody said that Mul Raj had sent for British officers to make Mooltan over to them. I replied that such could not be the case as the Guru (Nanak) had said:—

Mula Tula bhes Hindu ka, Sikh Guru ka uthe pachham ki des (Mula, a Tula Khatri, in the appearanee of a Hindu, but (really) a disciple of the Guru, will rise in the west country).

This was repeated to the British officer, and I was placed in confinement. The next day when I was brought before the British officer he received news of the insurrection at Mooltan. Instead of punishing me he let me go, saying that the words of the Guru had come true. He also gave me some medicine, which he said was made of *kikar* wood charcoal, and brown sugar. This medicine cured my fever, and I have since given it to others with good results.

Soon after this Chutter Singh Attariwala, came to Peshawar, and all Sikh troops rejoined him. The European officer went to Kobat with Sultan Muhammad Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan. Afterwards, when Colonel Nicholson was

advancing to attack Chutter Singh, Sultan Muhammad Khan made over the European officer to Chutter Singh. At night, with my aid and that of another sentry named Karam Singh, to whom I had given Rs. 25, the European officer escaped.[1] He told me that one of his brothers was at Lahore and another at Amritsar.

At Gujrat I fought under my old Commander Sardar Attar Singh, Gojarawala. Sheikh Imam Din, who had joined the British, had succeeded in buying over the Afghans, and also Attar Singh. The consequence was that the Afghans and Attar Singh's regiment fled and the whole Sikh army followed them.

Afterwards near Rawalpindi we all gave up our arms. I had served the Sikhs more than 22 years.

I then went to my home, and two years later went to Kabul for the fourth time. I stayed there eight months, putting up in Bhai Parana's "dharmsala," which is situated in the Lahori Serai near the Shor Bazar. Amir Dost Muhammad was then in power. On my return to the Punjab I lived at home for three years cultivating my fields and then made my fifth journey to Kabul, leaving the Punjab in the spring and returning in the autumn. It is now twelve years since I paid my sixth visit to Kabul. I stayed there on that occasion four years. I was in Kabul when Sher Ali Khan came down to Ambala. My wife and my sons, Jiwan Singh and Gurdit Singh, joined me at Kabul. Gurdit Singh was a sepoy in a native infantry regiment at Peshawar: but took his discharge to come up to me. Jiwan Singh and Gurdit Singh returned to the Punjab via Peshawar, after staying about two months in Kabul. I and my wife went with a sewak named Devi Sahai, to Ghazni and from thence came down to Dera Ismail Khan with Powindahs. Shortly before this sixth visit to Kabul I had been made a Kuka by Mahant Jota Singh of Gil in the Killa Sobha Singh Thana of the Sialkot District. When the Maler Kotla disturbances took place I was at my home.

After a time I made my seventh journey to Kabul, taking my

1. This must be incorrect, as Major Lawrence was released by Chutter Singh on parole, C.B.

grandson Isur Singh, who was then about 13 or 14 years old, with me. We stayed in Kabul about 4 or 5 months.

It is now 2½ years since I last went to Kabul. At Hazru a Bedi, whose name I do not remember, recommended me to travel in Swat, as there were many Hindus there. I accordingly went to Swat. The Akhund was then dead. I stayed in Swat a year, but I do not remember the name of any places or of any persons there. I then crossed the Kabul river and went to Dhakka and Pesh Bolak. The British troops were then encamped near there. From there I went with a Bawa named Karm Singh and two Khatris, whose names I forget, to a village to the south-west of Pesh Bolak, and remained in those mountains a whole year. I do not know the names of any villages, nor of any of the Hindus with whom I stayed. I then passed to the left of the Logar Valley, and so on to a place 60 miles beyond Kabul. On my return I stayed at Bhai Parana's "dharmsala" in Kabul. This was about 22 days after Abdul Rahman Khan had entered the city.

I remained in Kabul about 2½ months, and then left for Peshawar. In Peshawar I put up in the serai below the fort, and stayed there seven days, during which time I met my grandson, Isur Singh. I left Peshawar in a cart, and went to Hattian; thence on a pony to Hazru, where I stayed 6 days. On leaving Hazru I met a Kuki, named Mai Lachmi, and tall Sikh, whom I took to be a thug, at Hattian. We all three travelled in a cart to Hassan Abdal and thence in an ekka to Rawalpindi, where we put up at Mai Lachmi's house. I had Rs. 150 with me, and feared that the tall Sikh might rob me; so I took advantage of his absence from Lachmi's house to remove to another part of the town, where I sold some things that I had, and then left in an ekka for Purrian, the first railway station out of Rawalpindi, where I got into the train and travelled as far as Wazirabad. At Wazirabad I gave my saddle-bags to a Sikh, whose name I do not know, and told him to send them to my home at Chakparana. I myself went to the village of Kotleh, where my son, Jiwan Singh, was married, and stayed there two days.

Bhag Singh, Jiwan Singh's wife's brother, told me that the

police were searching for me and recommended me to report my arrival at the police station. I however, stupidly neglected to do so. On the third day a police officer, named Mehr Singh, arrived and took me first to the Sambrial police station and then to Sialkot, where I was brought before a "Deputy".[1] The "Deputy", on seeing me, was very angry with Mehr Singh, and told him that he had been sent to make inquiries about me and not to arrest me. I was released, but told to report my arrival and departure at the different police stations when moving about the country. I went to my home and stayed there five days, and then after telling the chaukidar of the village to report my departure, I visited my daughter at village Buda Gura in the Gujranwala District. After staying there a day, I went on to Dipipur and put up with Ganda Singh, Lambardar. I sent the chaukidar of the village to report my arrival at the Kamoke police station, and then went on to Shahpur and Sorab, and afterwards to a village near Shekhupura. From that village I went into Lahore. Near the Shahdara bridge a European officer met me and asked my name and where I had come from, also particulars regarding my dress which I had brought from Kabul. I told him I had been in Kabul, and was going to stay with Deva Singh, Kuka, of Lahore, and afterwards was going on to Bhaini. On arrival in Lahore I found Deva Singh's house shut so I had my dinner at the house of a Sikh who lives near Deva Singh, but whose name I do not remember. I afterwards reported myself at the Lahore Kotwali, and then went to the "dharmsala." At the latter place a police-man met me and asked. I explained the reason, on which he told me to meet him every day at the "dharmsala". On fifth day I left Lahore, without reporting my departure: I forgot to do so; and, travelling north-east past the Shalimar gardens, spent three days in villages the names of which I do not remember; and on fourth day reached Fattehwal in the Ajnala thana of the Amritsar District, where I stayed with Ganda Singh, Kuka, 7 days. From there I went to Manga, in the Pasrur thana of the Sialkot District, and put up with the brother of Attar Singh, tarkhan Kuka. The next day I proceeded to the house of

*Probably the Inspector of Police.

Budha Singh, Kuka, of Chuk Guru, and remained with him 5 days. It was Shekhani, at the house of Hukm Singh, Kuka. I returned to my home at Chakparana, and immediataly sent the chaukidar to the police station to report my arrival. The next day I myself started for the thana, but on the road a Police Sergeant met me. He searched me and afterwards searched my house. On me was found a paper on which I had written the names of the villages I had visited after leaving Lahore. I was sent to Sialkot, and thence to Lahore.

I am anxious to serve the British Government. I can travel in Afghanistan, as I have many sewaks in that country. In Kabul I met a Bedi named Ganda Singh, a native of Dera Nanak, who now has a shop in Kirmina in Bokhara; he had come to Kabul to purchase cotton goods. He said that there were two agents of the Maharaja of Kashmir in Russian territory, one a Dogra named Karm Chand, the other a Hindu who had lost one of his front teeth and shaved his chin.

Memo. by Mr. C Brown, dated 16th February 1881.

From the foregoing it will be observed that Gurcharan Singh, whose memory appears to be remarkably good, is unable to give any account of the places he visited during the 2½ years he has lately spent in Afghanistan. He says he was a year in Swat and a year in the hills to the south-west of Pesh Bolak; but as he cannot give the names of any villages or of the persons with whom he stayed, this statement must be considered as corroborating the evidence of Gulab Khan.

The fact of his having, at the time he was arrested at his home, a piece of paper with the names of the villages he professed to have just visited written on it, is also very suspicious. It was no doubt intended to throw the police on the wrong scent. It will be remembered that Gulab Khan followed Gurcharan Singh to Narli, and thence to Bhaini.

I now propose to send for Imam Bakhsh (the man who was sent by Sir L. Gavagnari to Samarkand, and who is now at Amritsar with Mr. Christie), and after ascertaining what he knows about Gurcharan Singh, to see if he can recognize the latter out of some 5 or 6 other grey bearded Sikhs.

It is also worthy of notice that Gurcharan Singh acted as a news-agent in Kabul for Raja Lal Singh.

ENCLOSURE NO. 15

Report by Mr. C. Brown, dated 25th February 1881.

On 22nd February, I put Gurcharan Singh among three other grey-bearded Sikhs, and then had Imam Bakhsh brought into the room. He immediately pointed out Gurcharan Singh as the man of that name that he had seen at Samarkand. After the room had been cleared, I asked Gurcharan Singh if he had ever seen Imam Bakhsh. He denied this, and also that he had been to Samarkand. Imam Bakhsh then reminded him of the circumstances connected with his meeting him in Samarkand, and gave the names of the persons who were then present.

It apears that on Imam Bakhsh's arrest at Katta Kurghan he was sent to Samarkand and taken before the principal Russian officer there—a General with long beard (General Abramoff ?); that at the time Gurcharan Singh was sitting on a chair alongside the General, and was directed to question Imam Bakhsh as to his residence and previous history. The result of this inquiry was, that the General came to the conclusion that Imam Bakhsh's story that he was a resident of Jacobabad and an ex-sepoy of a Beloch regiment, who had fled after murdering a British officer, was false, and so remanded him to prison as a suspicious character.

Imam Bakhsh, after being a month in prison, was released on representations made by Sayad Khan at the instance of Gulab Khan.

Gurcharan Singh continued to deny all knowledge of Imam Bakhsh; so I sent him back to the lock-up.

ENCLOSURE NO. 16

Report by Mr. C. Brown, dated 1st March 1881.

Gurcharan Singh informed Inspector Muhammad Amir on 26th February, that what Imam Bakhsh had said

regarding his seeing him (Gurcharan Singh) at Samarkand, was true; that in reality he (Gurcharan Singh) had spoken in favour of Imam Bakhsh and had obtained his release. That the reason why he had denied having been at Samarkand was that he had received money from the Russians and did not like to be unfaithful to their Salt, but that now if the British Government allowed him to eat their salt he would be equally faithful to them.

I have to-day given Gurcharan Singh an opportunity of amending his former statement to me, but he denies the truth of the above report by Muhammad Amir, and says he never visited Samarkand.

PARTICULARS REGARDING PERSONS MENTIONED BY GULAB KHAN

(Gulab Khan's Statement to Mr. C. Brown on 27th November 1880)

Narain Das, son of Ganda Mal, caste Acharj, of Hazru, District, Rawalpindi.

Has been in Turkestan for three years. Acts as body-washer to the Hindus.

Took a letter from Gurcharan Singh from Tash Kurghan to the Russian Governor at Samarkand in April 1880, and is still at Samarkand awaiting a reply to Guru Ram Singh's letter.

MAYA Hindu

Is believed to be a native of the Gujranwala district, was a Jamadar in a native regiment, but absconded after the Mutiny. He now lives in Shibdiwalas at different places in Russian and Afghan Turkestan, and acts as a messenger and agent for Gurcharan Singh, Kuka. He smokes charas.

On the 20th December he took a letter from Gurcharan Singh, from Tash Kurghan, to the Russian Governor at Samarkand, and received a reward of 500 tangas and a chogha.

RAMCHARAN TORA, *Alias* NANA RAO, Maharatta

On the 13th August 1879, one Ramcharan arrived in Samarkand from Orenburg with the Russian Prince who visited the river Oxus in September 1879. He said he was a descendant of Nana Rao, Mahratta.

He had an interview with Gurcharan Singh. He knows Russian, and is a Russian in his habits. He said he had absconded from India after the Mutiny. Is a short man of dark complexion, about forty years of age.

SHANKAR RAI,[1] caste Bhat, of Haripur, district Hazara, age about thirty-four years.

Has been in Russian Turkestan for the last four years, during which he has been chiefly at Kutta Kurghan.

He is believed to have accompained Gurcharan Singh to Peshawar in October 1880. He is a very intelligent man, has a beard, and twists his moustaches up like a Dogra.

ABDUL WAHAB, native of Yusafzai, age forty years: tall: eyes almondshaped; beard reddish and clipped; complexion fair,

Is a Russian employee. On the 3rd June 1880 he returned from Kashmir after an absence of two and a half years. He was sent to ascertain if three persons who had visited the Russians and had given out that they were confidential agents of the Maharaja of Kashmir, were really the persons they represented themselves to be. When he returned on the 3rd June, he wrote to Sayad Khan, the Deputy Governor of Kutta Kurghan, from Tashkand, announcing his arrival, and saying that a Dogra named Jiwan Mal had come with him and had brought two horse-loads of presents.

SHAHZADA IBRAHIM SHAH, son of Jalaludin Shah, son of Sabir Shah, son of Hazrat Shah Alam Badshah, son of Muhammad Alamgir Sani, son of Jahandar Shah Badshah, son of Bahadur Shah Badshah, son of

1. Shankar Rai was arrested by British Government on a secret information given by Gulab Khan and Sayad Khan—Compiler.

Aurangzeb Alamgir Badshah. Tall, fair complexion, long beard, age forty-five, can read and write.

This man arrived in Kutta Kurghan on the 2nd April 1880, and produced a letter from the Raja of Jaipur which said that the bearer was one of the Princes of Delhi, and a descendant of Amir Tamorlane; and that he was now starving owing to the cruelty of the British Government. This letter bore a Hindi seal.

Ibrahim also produced his genealogical tree which had several seals upon it.

Memorandum, Commissioner's Office, Peshawar, 1st November 1880, received under cover of his No. 267.

Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, mentioned in these papers, has already reached Peshawar and moved down country from Peshawar, accompanied by a Muhammadan who goes by the name of Karima. He is being watched by the Police. He employed himself at Peshawar in writing letters, the destination of which was not discovered. The informant and Gurcharan Singh recognized each other, and the informant wrote an imaginary letter of news to the Russian General in Bokhara, and on this Gurcharan Singh wrote some remarks in the Gurumukhi character which I have not yet diciphered, but the paper is in my possession.

Ghulam Rasul, Lohani merchant, also mentioned as Russian spy, is said to be now in Lahore.

Shankar Rai of Haripur is also said to have passed through Peshawar.

I should be glad to have the opinion of Government upon the information, and their instructions regarding the informant, whether he may be employed and rewarded. I suggest that Major Henderson be placed in possession of this information.

ARREST OF GURCHARAN SINGH UNDER REGULATION III OF 1818

K.W. No. 1 of Nos. 568-594.

From Government of the Punjab, No. 688, dated 5th April, 1881.

SECRETARY

The Punjab Government have arrested Gurcharan Singh, of whom we have lately heard a good deal, and propose to detain him under Regulation III of 1818.

The man's history is given in the enclosed papers. He is 75 years of age, and connected with the Kukas, between whom and the Russian authorities in Turkestan he has apparently been carrying on a correspondence. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it would be dangerous to leave him at larger, and recommends his being kept in confinement long enough to sever his connection with the Kukas, and interrupt the intrigues in Central Asia indicated by the correspondence under consideration.

I think there can be very little doubt that Gurcharan Singh has been mixed up in the intrigues of which he is accused, and that he has succeeded in conveying communications between the Russians and Ram Singh at Mergui. Under these circumstances, though the issue of a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 is probably tantamount to his imprisonment for life, and though the power given by that Regulation is of an extraordinary nature and cannot be too carefully used, I should be inclined to accept the Punjab proposal. **To talk of severing Gurcharan's connection with the Kukas seems to me useless. He is a Kuka Soobah and will remain so till he dies, doing meanwhile all the harm he can to us, so that**

we shall have to keep him in prison for the rest of his life if we mean to disable him. But I see no other way out of it.

(Sd/-) H.M.D.
19-4-81

HIS EXCELLENCY

These papers contain some curious information about the attempts of the Kukas to intrigue with the Russians at Tashkend. I may mention that the fact of emissaries having been passing between the Kukas and Tashkend has been long known in the Foreign Office.

Gurcharan Singh, the principal agent in this correspondence, has now been arrested, and the Lieutenant-Governor wishes to keep him a political prisoner.

I do not think that we need be troubled about the effect of Gurcharan Singh's manoeuvres upon the Russians, who are not likely to be much moved by these wandering intriguers. But the effect upon the Kukas of any wild ideas that the Russians may aid them is more important; and the question is whether we shall mend matters by confining Gurcharan Singh for a time. I put up below a Policy diary just received, reporting the dispersion of a Kuka meeting, and arrest of 39 persons released on bail. It will be noted that Bhaini is the head-quarters of the Kuka sect.

If it could be arranged that Gurcharan Singh should be compelled to give security to reside in one place under surveillance, I think that would be better than imprisoning him. The question is whether he is likely to excite the Kukas to some violent manifestation—if he is, he should be confined; if not, I would only insist on his remaining in one place on surveillance. Perhaps this view might be put to the Punjab; if the reply is that Gurcharan is really dangerous, he must be imprisoned.

Might we not send home the papers to the Secretary of State, and suggest that some reference be made to the Russians to discourage such people, if they are really encouraged at Tashkend ?

(Sd/-) A.C.L. 20-4-81
(Sd/-) R. 21-4-81

137

(DEMI-OFFICIAL)

Dated Simla, 22nd April 1881.

From:—A.C. Lyall, Esq., C.B.
To:—Hon'ble Sir R. Egerton.

I write to you direct, because Mackworth Young may be absent; but I hope you will answer me, if it be more convenient, through your Secretary.

In an official letter of the 5th April from your Government, you recommend issue of a warrant for the detention of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, for a period long enough to sever his connection with the Kukas, and to interrupt his intrigues with Central Asia.

The Government of India do not, I may say, attach much impotance to his intrigues with the Russians, except so far as his proceedings may encourage the Kukas in imagining that they may look in that direction for help. The main question is. evidently, whether Gurcharan Singh's connection with the Kukas can be severed by imprisonment, or whether the fact of his being shut up may not invest him with greater and increasing influence among the rest; so that the reasons for detaining (and probably deporting) him may grow instead of diminishing. It is of course not desirable to have detenus of this class in India, where they become the objects of secret correspondence, and of various devices to communicate with and liberate them.

I am therefore to consult you as to whether it may not be practicable, without imprisoning Gurcharan Singh, to place him on bail or some such effective security which may ensure his residing at some particular place, where he will be under such surveillance as will prevent his leaving it without the knowledge of the Government. If he attempted to abscond, he would then be arrested and imprisoned. This arrangement which has been adopted with a different class of political detenus, seems to the Government of India preferable, unless you consider that Gurcharan Singh's being to this extent at large is dangerous, and that the proposed security and surveillance would not prevent his escape if he chose to make it.

———

(DEMI-OFFICIAL)

Dated Lahore, 28th April 1881.

From:—F. Cunningham, Esq.,

To—A.C. Lyall, Esq., C.B.

I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to acknowledge your demi-official letter to him of the 22nd instant, in which you suggest that as it is possible the influence of Gurcharan Singh among Kukas would only be increased by imprisonment, it might be better, without confining him, to put him on bail, taking security to ensure his residing in some fixed spot, where he would remain under surveillance, or if he attempted to abscond, he could then be arrested and imprisoned.

Sir Robert Egerton desires me to explain that he does not consider Gurcharan Singh is dangerous as a Kuka, but rather as an emissary from Central Asia, exciting vain hopes in the minds of the Kuka leaders. Nor does he understand how he can keep this man on bail under surveillance, under such conditions that an attempt to abscond might be punished with imprisonment, without obtaining a warrant from the Government of India. If, however, this can be effected, he thinks it would be sufficient. He does not wish to confine Gurcharan Singh, but knows of no other way of keeping him under effectual restraint without trial.

HIS EXCELLENCY

This is the reply from the Punjab about Gurcharan Singh.

I thought that the Lieutenant-Governor would find means to take security from Gurcharan Singh, as has undoubtedly been done with other Kukas; the diary below gives one or two instances. It is a process that rather strains the law, but the Punjab Magistrates do it whenever they choose.

I am still averse to locking up this man indefinitely; and I might speak to Sir R. Egerton on the subject, unless His Excellency decides to grant the warrant at once.

4-5-81 (Sd/-) A.C.L.

4-5-81 (Sd/-) R.

DRAFT

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 688 of 5th April 1881. I have the honor to enclose a warrant for the detention of Gurcharan Singh, son of Atar Singh, Kuka.

His Excellency the Governor General-in-Council understands that this man's detention will not be prolonged beyond the time requisite to interrupt and terminate his attempts to intrigue within Central Asia, which may, if allowed to continue, to some degree encourage disaffection among the Kukas. And I am to observe that the Lieutenant-Governor will judge how far it may be necessary to place Gurcharan Singh in actual confinement within a prison.

(Sd/-) A.C.L.

UNDER-SECRETARY

Fair draft put up.

The copy for signature will be made as soon as it is decided where the prisoner is to be confined. The Punjab Government letter does not give it. I think it should be the Central Jail at Lahore.

R.B.—16-5-81.

Are we obliged to name a place ? Cannot we send the warrant addressed to the Secretary or get out of it somehow ?

(Sd/-) H.M.D.

16-5-81.

The Regulation distinctly states that the name of the place must be stated, as also the designation of the Officer under whose custody the prisoner is to be placed.

The warrant may perhaps be issued, leaving designation of officer and place blank, and Mr. Cunningham asked demi-officially to fill it in and let us know that we may insert it in our copy for record.

R.B. 17-5-81.

(SECRETARY)

I think we had better ask the Lieutenant-Governor what name and place we are to insert. Demi-official put up.

17-5-81. (Sd/-) H.M.D.
17-5-81. (Sd/-) A.C.L.

(DEMI-OFFICIAL)

Dated Simla, 17th May 1881.

From :—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.,

To :—F. Cunningham, Esq.

A letter is issuing to you enclosing a warrent for the detention of Gurcharan Singh. Will you kindly enquire from His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to whom he would like the warrant addressed, and what is to be the place of detention.

(DEMI-OFFICIAL)

Dated Simla, 20th May 1981.

From :—W.M. Young, Esq.

To :—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.

In a demi-official of Cunningham, dated 17th instant, you ask to whom the Lieutenant-Governor would wish the warrant for Gurcharan Singh addressed, and what is to be the place of detention. Sir Robert Egerton would prefer that he should be detained in the Multan Jail, and the warrant should, therefore, be addressed, I believe, to the officer-in-charge of the Jail at Multan, under Section 2 of Regulation 5 of 1818.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Please see the additions to the warrant, which, together with the letter to the Punjab Government, may now issue.

K.W. No. 2 of Nos. 568-594

UNDER SECRETARY

Please see His Excellency's order, dated 21st April 1881, to report to Secretary of State.

Shall we send home only Punjab letter No. 688, dated 5th April, and our reply, or all the papers commencing with Colonel Waterfield's memorandum, dated Ist November 1880.

F.L.—26-5-81

Only the Punjab letter. It gives a full account. Short draft, enclosing papers and giving a very brief description of Gurcharan's character and antecedents, with Lieutenant-Governor's recommendation and our action upon it. Then in a third paragraph the suggestion made by Secretary in his note of 20th April.

(Sd/-) H.M.D.
26-5-81

Punjab Police-Abstract of Intelligence,

Kukas.

7. Wariam Singh, of Bilaspur, held a celebration of bhog on the 22nd March, which was attended by 26 persons.

8. Wariam Singh (see preceding paragraph), accompanied by his father and four other Kukas of Bilaspur, and Naib Suba Gurbakhsh Singh No. 9, of Saidoki, started for the village of Kot Gangurai, in the Ludhiana district, where he is to be married to the daughter of one Joga Singh. The party intends visiting Bhaini on the way.

9. On the 15th March, about 200 Kukas assembled at Kang to attend the wedding of Lambardar Roda Singh's daughter, who has been married to the son of Mehr Singh of Sangri, in Jammu territory (see correspondence ending with Inspector-General's letter No. 236 of June 1872). Several of the guests were residents of Bhaini, Ludhiana district, and of Amritsar. Suba Harnam Singh of Mandi, Patiala was also present on the occasion.

10. Dewa Singh of Kalar, in Jind territory, states that he has a shop at Peshawar.

NOTE:—The District Superintendent of Police, Peshawar, has been called upon for a report (C.P.O.).

11. Suba Samand Singh, No. 7, of Khoteh returned home from Bhaini, Ludhiana district, on the 20th March.

12. Suba Phula Singh, No. 2, of Chogawan started the Amritsar on the 24th March to see Gur Ditta.

NOTE:—The District Superintendent of Police Ferozepur, has been asked whether the man referred to is Guran, Ditta, Rababi Kuka of Lahore and a copy of the entry has been sent to the District Superintendent of Police Amritsar. (C.B.O.)

13. Buta Singh has returned to Calcutta. and is putting up in Tara Singh's sangat, and his companion, Guran Ditta, Rababi of Lahore has gone to Hyderabad, Deccan (most likely to Abchalnagar. C.P.O.) On their way to the Punjab, they learnt from their co-religionists that enquiries were being made there regarding them, and they were warned to turn back. Buta Singh now says that he is a resident of Kiampura in the Gurdaspur district. (Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta's Memorandum, No. 1080 of 5-4-81.)

NOTE:—A copy of this has been forwarded to the District Superintendent of Police, Gurdaspur, for enquiry and report. (C.P.O.)

Payments made to Baba Budh Singh of Bhaini.

14. The following sums have been paid to Baba Budh Singh, of Bhaini, by visitors from various districts:—During the week ending 19th March, (1881—Compiler) by 63 Kukas, Rs. 122-8-0; week ending 26th March, by 55 persons, Rs. 103-6-0; and during the week ending 2nd April, by the same number of persons, Rs. 94 total subscriptions, Rs. 319-14-0. These sums do not, however by any means represent Budh Singh's actual weekly income. Between Rs. 200 and 300 are paid to him daily and at the end of each half-year every Kuka pays him a tenth part of his income both in cash and grain. These figures do not include miscellaneous payments made to the Baba by members

of the sect, who are duped into selling their landed and other property and making over the proceeds to him.

15. Suba Kahn Singh of Baja,[1] in Faridkot territory of the Ferozepur and Jaimal Singh of Bhaini,[2] Ludhiana district have been arrested under Section 353, Indian Penal Code, for abusing and obstructing the police in the discharge of their duty at Bhaini. Suba Kahn Singh attempted to force his way into the Dera. This man requires to be strictly watched. He collects money and grain for Baba Budh Singh, and sends them to Bhaini periodically.

16. On the 17th March the District Superintendent of Police Ludhiana, received information to the effect that about 150 Kukas were assembled for the purpose of holding a secret meeting in the *dhak jungle* near village Laton, not far from Bhaini. The police proceeded to the spot, but only succeeded in arresting 39 persons,[3] under Sections 504, 505, Criminal Procedure Code. The remainder dispersed on the approach of the police and effected their escape. The following are the names, &c., of the persons who were arrested and released on bail, pending an inquiry by the Magistrate.

Gurdit Singh, alias Gurdas Singh, Suba, son of Ram Singh, barber, of Naiwala, Police Station Anahadghar, Patiala.

Atri, Mussammat, of Khanna, Patiala, betrothed to Guru Ram Singh.

Sundar Singh, son of Bhup Singa, Jat, of Jogà, Police Station Bhiki, Patiala.

Narain Singh, son of Khushal Singh, Jat, of Bhurwai, Police Station Hidiaya, Patiala.

Jowalla Singh, son of Desa Singh, goldsmith of Katana, Police Station Dauraba, Patiala. Formerly of Golwati, Police Station Daska, Sialkot District, and a pensioned Police Sergeant.

1. See p. 80, *Kukas of Note in the Punjab.*
2. See p. 22, " " " " "
3. Also see p. 391-400, of *Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs.* Vol. III.

—Compiler.

Bhaghan, Mussammat, wife of Jowalla Singh, Goldsmith.
Bhagwan Singh, son of Ram Singh, Jat of Lohara, Nabha.

Sundar Singh, son of Maluk Singh, Jat, of Moran, Police Station Dhunowala, Nabha.

Attar Singh, son of Dula Singh, Jat, of Pito, Police Station Phul. Nabha.

Harnam Singh, alias Ram Singh, son of Rura, Jat, No. 21, of Bhaini, police station Sahnewal, Ludhiana district.

Jai Kaur, Mussammat, wife of Harnam Singh of Bhaini.

Mastan Singh, son of Hem Singh, Jat, No. 32, of Bhaini, police station Sahnewal, Ludhiana district.

Rupan, Mussammat, wife of Gumana Singh; Jat, of Saharan Majra, police station Dehlon, Ludhiana district.

Natha Singh, Suba, son of Dhul Singh, Jat No. 13 of Gadriwala, police station Zira, Ferozepur district.

Sohel Singh, son of Nandha, carpenter, of Takhtupura, police station Moga, Ferozepur district.

Rattan Singh, son of Kharak Singh, carpenter, of Nathana, police station Nathana, Ferozepur district. This is a man of some note.

Sapuran Singh, son of Hari Singh, Rajput, of Rupana, police station Muktsar, Ferozepur district.

Gulab Singh, son of Fatteh Singh, Jat, of Guru Sar, police station Kot Bhai, Ferozepur district.

Anup Singh, son of Lakhan Singh, Jat, of Bholiwala, police station Muktsar, Ferozepur district.

Dharmo, Mussammat, wife of Anup Singh of Bholiwala.

Tara Singh, son of Bhahali, Jat, of Fakir Sar, police station Kot Bhai, Ferozepur district.

Chatar Singh, son of Gulab Singh, Jat of Tamkot, police station Muktsar, Ferozepur district.

Lal Singh, son of Jowahir Singh, Jat of Husnar, police station Kot Bhai, Ferozepur district.

Bholi, Mussammat, wife of Lal Singh of Husnar.

Wazir Singh, son of Fatteh Singh, Jat, of Rupana, police station Muktsar, Ferozepur district.

Sundar Kaur Mussammat, wife of Wazir Singh of Rupana.

Sajan Singh, son of Dial Singh, Barber, of Mata, police station Kot Kapura, Faridkot.

Khushal Singh, Suba, son of Karam Singh, Jat, No. 1 of Therajwala, police station Rori, Sirsa district.

Dya Singh, son of Hakikat Singh, Jat, of Malot, police station Malot, Sirsa district.

Shere Singh, son of Nihal Singh, Jat, of Malot, police station Malot, Sirsa district.

Dhian Singh, son of Bhup Singh, Jat, of Lakawali, police station Bangta, Sirsa district.

Bhagwan Singh. son of Bahal Singh, Jat, of Jandwala, police station Malot, Sirsa district.

Rata Mussammat, wife of Bhagwan Singh of Jandwala.

Jit Singh, son of Bhagwan Singh, Jat, of Jandwala, police station Malot, Sirsa district.

Desan, Mussammat, wife of Bhola Singh Jat, of Ailkharana, police station Malot, Sirsa district.

Bishen Singh, son of Nand Singh, Jat, of Kaleri, police station Baladah Karnal district.

Sundar Singh, son of Kharak Singh, Jat, of Kaleri, police station Baladah, Karnal district.

Shere Singh, son of Jodh Singh, carpenter, of Amritsar City.

Gurdit Singh, alias Gurdas Singh, of Naiwala, is an influential Suba. His relative or intimate friend Rattan Singh, barber of the same village, was hanged for taking part in the butcher murders of 1871, in which Gurdit Singh himself was supposed to have been implicated. But as nothing could be proved against him, the Patiala authorities had to content

themselves with putting him on security in the sum of Rs. 500. He was also directed not to visit Bhaini or to move out of his village without obtaining the consent of the State authorities. He apparently escorted Mussammat Atri to the meeting under notice, as she came to it in his rath (bullock-cart).

Bishen Singh and Sundar Singh of Kaleri, in the Karnal district, are leading Kukas, and the latter is believed to have visited Guru Ram Singh during the year 1880. His name is mentioned in one of the Guru's letters, which was found on Mussammat Atri when she was arrested.

Guru's letters found on Atri

Several letters from the Guru, which are supposed to have been brought by Sundar Singh of Kaleri, and one Bhagwan Singh, whose residence is not known, were found on Mussammat Atri. She cannot account satisfactorily for their being in her possession. She admits, however, that she left her home without the sanction of the Patiala authorities, and states that she came to Bhaini with the intention of residing there in future, as she is unable to bear the restrictions imposed upon her by the State.

On the 28th March, Gurdit Singh, alias Gurdas Singh, of Naiwala, Patiala; Sundar Singh, of Kaleri, Karnal district; Suba Khushal Singh, No. 1 of Therajwala, Sirsa district; and Suba Natha Singh, No. 13 of Gadriwala, Ferozepur district, were ordered to furnish security in the sum of Rs. 1,000 each for one year. Mussammat Atri and the other residents of Patiala, Nabha and Faridkot have been made over to the Vakils of those States.

NOTE : The District Superintendent of Police, Karnal, has been called upon to submit a report in regard to Bishen Singh and Sundar Singh, of Kaleri; and the District Superintendent of Ferozepur has been asked to furnish particulars regarding Rattan Singh of Nathana.—(C.P.C.)

17. It is rumoured that a Kuka messenger with a letter purporting to be from Guru Ram Singh, is going from village

to village, telling members of the sect to go to Bhaini, as the time predicted by the Guru has come. On the 17th March, Baba Budh Singh, of Bhaini, confirmed this report in the presence of the District Superintendent of Police, but said that the messenger was an impostor, who was endeavouring to swindle credulous Kukas.

18. Bhagat Singh, son of Jowahir Singh of (?); Jhanda Singh, son of Mehtab Singh; and Jhanda Singh, son of Malla Singh, both of village Vadala, police station, Kathunangal, Amritsar district, were arrested on the Sahnewal railway platform on their way to Bhaini. Bhagat Singh had in his possession an extract from the seditious letter by Guru Ram Singh, which was brought from Rangoon in 1877 by Mahants Naina Singh, No. 1 of Varyah and Bhagwan Singh, No. 2 both of the Amritsar district. Jhanda Singh, son of Mehtab Singh, was carrying a brass handle for a walking stick, which, from its peculiar construction, was without a doubt intended for the concealment of papers and money. It consisted of a long hollow tube, terminating in a hollow knob. The knob was large enough to contain Rs. 200 in gold, and its upper half was made to screw on the lower half to which the tube was attached. The tube was intended to contain papers. Jhanda Singh, son of Malla Singh, carried the stick to which the brass handle was to be fixed, and also six files. These men stated that the articles found on them had been sent by Bisakha Singh, of Vadala, Amritsar district who visited Rangoon in August 1880 for Baba Budh Singh, of Bhaini. The brass handle was evidently intended for the use of emissaries to Burmah, but it is not clear what use the files were to be put to. These three men were brought before the Deputy Commissioner on the 30th March, and were required to find security in the sum of Rs. 1,000 each for one year.

19. Ker Singh, alias Mehr Singh, alias Anup Singh is really a native of village Budhlan, police station, Dasuha, Hushiarpur district, but lives at Garna Sahib with his Guru, Harnam Singh, alias Bhup Singh (see same paragraph), who is the only person who can control him. He is reported to be a bigoted and fanatical Kuka. It is said that he is of unsound mind and

that he is dangerous. When anything he wants is refused him, he takes it by force. He is consequently feared by the people, and they get out of his way when they see him approaching. The Deputy Commissioner has been asked to put him under medical observation. His descriptive roll is as follows—wheat complexion; pock-marked; big nose; high check-bones; front teeth of both jaws receding into the mouth; strong build; height, about 5 feet 11 inches; age about 34 years. He lives by begging. —(Inspector-General's letter No. 64 of March 1881—Report from Hushiarpur.)

No. 594

No. 1087-E.P., dated Simla, 23rd May 1881.

From:—Captain T. Hope, Offg. Asstt. Secy. to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.,

To:—Officiating Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

In Reply to your letter No. 688, dated the 5th April 1881, I have the honor to enclose a Warrant for the detention of Gurcharan Singh, son of Atar Singh, Kuka.

2. His Excellency the Governor General-in-Council understands that this man's detention will not be prolonged beyond the time requisite to interrupt and terminate his attempts to intrigue with Central Asia, which may, if allowed to continue, to some degree encourage disaffection among the Kukas. And I am to observe that the Lieutenant-Governor will judge how for it may be necessary to place Gurcharan Singh in actual confinement within a prison.

WARRANT

To :—The Superintendent, Mooltan, Jail.

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Gurcharan Singh, son of Atar Singh, Kuka, shall be placed under personal restraint at Mooltan, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above

named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General-in-Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General-in-Council,

(Sd/-) A.C. Lyall,
Secretary to the Government of India.
Simla, the 23rd day of May 1881. Foreign Dept.

On the death or release of Gurcharan Singh, or when this Warrant ceases to be operative, this Warrant is to be returned to the Secratary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, with a memorandum endorsed thereon to explain the reason for its return.

(Sd/-) A.C. Lyall,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Dept.

No. 1274½, dated Simla, 6th June 1881.
(Confidential)

From:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

To:—Sir A.C. Lyall, K.C.B., Secy. to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.

With reference to your letter No. 1087 E.P. of the 23rd May last, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, copy to the letter marginally noted to the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Mooltan Division, communicating the orders of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor in regard to the measures to be taken for the detention of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka.

No. 1274, dated 6th June, 1881.

2. The Inspector-General of Police has been instructed to communicate to Gurcharan Singh the terms of the security to be demanded from him, and to warn him to take measures for furnishing such security, failing which he will be detained in jail at Mooltan.

No. 1274, dated the 6th June, 1881.

From:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

To:—Commissioner and Superintendent, Mooltan Division.

I am desired to forward copies of the papers marginally noted, referring to the issue of a warrant under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818, for the detention of one Gurcharan Singh, a Kuka, who has been engaged in passing communications between the Russians in Central Asia and members of the Kuka sect.

1. This Office No. 688, dated 5th April, 1881, with enclosures.

2. Government of India reply, No. 1087 E.P., dated 23rd May 1881.

2. Gurcharan Singh will shortly be brought to Mooltan by the police, and presented before you for orders; and I am to communicate herein the orders of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor in regard to the measures to be taken in pursuance of the instructions of Government of India. In the first place, it is desired, if possible, to avoid the necessity of confining Gurcharan Singh in jail. He has been already informed that if he is able to furnish security to the extent of Rs. 1,000 in two sureties of Rs. 500 each, he will be permitted to reside at such place in the neighbourhood of Mooltan as you may approve, and in such case an allowance of Rs. 12 per mensem will be made for his maintenance, so long as he conforms to all the instructions he may receive regarding his conduct and behaviour. If this security is furnished, it will be for you to determine where he shall be located, and to give orders for his showing himself to the police authorities at Mooltan, as often as may appear necessary, to prevent any chance of his escape.

3. Should Gurcharan Singh violate any of the conditions under which he is permitted to reside under police supervision, it will be for you to consider whether the warrant should at once be put in force and Gurcharan Singh imprisoned in the Mooltan Jail. Should you think it necessary for any other reason to put in force the warrant, you are at liberty to do so, the main object being to secure the residence of Gurcharan

Singh, in a place where the police can inform themselves of his communications, and prevent him from travelling to other parts of the province.

4. I am to request that you will furnish a report of the measures which you take in accordance with these instructions; and if at any future time you find it necessary to put in force the warrant, the fact should be reported without delay to this Government.

No. 1274 E.P., dated Simla, 17th June 1881.
(Confidential)

From:—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I. Under Secy. to the Government of India, Foreign Dept..

To:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential letter No. 1274½ of the 6th June 1881 regarding Gurcharan Singh, Kuka.

2. In reply, I am to request that the Government of India may be furnished hereafter with a report showing the result of the instructions issued by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to the Commissioner of Mooltan and the Inspector-General of Police.

Detention of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, under Police Surveillance at Multan.

No. 170, dated Lahore, 1st March 1883 (Confidential).

From:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

To:—C. Grant, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept..

With reference to paragraph 2 of your letter No. 1274 E.P., dated 17th June 1881. I am desired to forward, for the

information of the Government of India, copy of the letter marginally noted, from the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Multan Division, reporting on the measures taken for the detention of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, under police surveillance and the amount of security furnished by him.

No. 916, dated the 30th August 1882.

2. I am to express regret at the delay which has occurred in the submission of this report, which should have been forwarded to Government in September last, but was overlooked.

(Copy)

No. 916, dated 30th August 1882 (Confidential).

From:—The Commissioner and Superintendent, Multan Division.

To:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

In answer to your No. 1274, dated 6th June 1881, I have the honor to say that Mr. Barkley took from Gurcharan Singh the securities of Jiwan Singh of Gaddanwalla and of Ate Singh of Chak Hindu, both in the Gujranwalla district; these securities were verified as sufficient by the Deputy Commissioner of that district. Mr. Barkley also directed Gurcharan Singh to live somewhere near the Multan Thana and to report himself to the police twice a week. I ascertain from the District Superintendent of Police that Gurcharan Singh has strictly obeyed these orders and lives very close to the thana, and is constantly under the eye of the police, living a quiet life. In obedience to the District Superintendent's orders, he has not yet gone to Sialkot, but is wating till the 1st proximo to allow time for the Sialkot Police to be informed of his coming.

RELEASE OF GURCHARAN SINGH, KUKA STATE PRISONER

In May 1881 Gurcharan Singh was arrested and confined as a political prisoner under Regulation III of 1818 on suspicion of being a medium of communication between the Russians in Central Asia and the Kukas in the Punjab.

In forwarding the warrant the Punjab Government was informed that the man's detention should not be prolonged beyond the time requisite to interrupt and terminate his intrigues in Central Asia, and it was left to the judgement of the Lieutenant-Governor whether it would be necessary to place the prisoner in actual confinement.

In March 1883 the Punjab Government reported the measures taken for the detention of this man under police surveillance and apologized for the delay in the submission of this report.

The Punjab Government now recommend his release with permission to return to his home in Sialkot and state that his return to his home will now be neither inconvenient nor dangerous. The condition attached to his release being that he should not visit Bhaini, the headquarters of the spiritual leader of the Kukas.

The recommendations of the Punjab Government may be accepted and the release of Gurcharan Singh sanctioned.

R. Burnham.
11th August, 1886.

UNDER-SECRETARY

We may perhaps remind the Punjab Government now about the return of the warrant—vide instructions thereon?

W.S. W.J.C.

31st August 1886.

From the Government of the Punjab, No. 726, dated 29th October 1886.

In compliance with letter No. 1510-F., dated 4th September, returns the original warrant for the detention of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, who has been released.

No. 542, dated Simla, 7th August 1886.

From:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To:— H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

With reference to the correspondence ending with this office confidential letter No. 170 of the 1st March 1883, regarding Gurcharan Singh, the Kuka State prisoner, for whose detention at Multan a warrant under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 was issued with Government of India, Foreign Department letter No. 1087-E.P., dated the 23rd May 1881. I am directed to solicit the sanction of the Government of India to the release of Gurcharan Singh from his present surveillance at Multan with permission to return to his home.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that his return to home in the Sialkot district will now be neither inconvenient nor dangerous, and would recommend his release subject only to the condition that he shall not visit Bhaini, the headquarters of the present spiritual leader of the Kuka sect.

No. 1397-F, dated Simla, 13th August 1886.

From:—W.J. Cunningham, Esq., Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

To:—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No.

542, dated the 7th August 1886, requesting sanction to the release of Gurcharan Singh, the Kuka State prisoner.

2. In reply I am directed to state that the Government of India sanction the release of Gurcharan Singh, under the condition specified in the 2nd paragraph of your letter under acknowledgment, viz., that he should not visit Bhaini, the headquarters of the present spiritual leader of the Kukas.

No. 1510-F, dated Simla, 4th September 1886.

From:—W.J. Cunningham, Esq., Officiating Under-Secy. to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

To:—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

In continuation of the letter from this office. No. 1397-F., dated the 13th August 1886, I am to remind you that the warrant for the detention of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, should be returned to the Foreign Department when he is released.

No. 726, dated Lahore, 29th October 1886.

From:—W.M. Young. Esq., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To:—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

In compliance with the letter of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 1510-F., of the 4th ultimo. I am directed to return herewith the original warrant for the detention of the Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, who was released from surveillance on the 7th September 1886.

WARRANT

To:—The Superintendent, Multan Jail.

Whereas the Governor General-in-Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Gurcharan Singh, son of Atar Singh, Kuka, shall be placed under personal restraint at Multan ; you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person

above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General-in-Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General-in-Council.

(Sd/-) A.C. Lyall,

Simla, Secretary to the Government of India,

The 23rd May 1881. Foreign Department.

On the death or release of Gurcharan Singh, or when this warrant ceases to be operative, this warrant is to be returned to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, with a memorandum endorsed thereon to explain the reason for its return.

(Sd/-) A.C. Lyall,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

MEMORANDUM

This warrant, under the discretion left to the Punjab Government in the letter of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 1087-E.P., dated the 23rd May 1881, has not been put in force. Gurcharan Singh having furnished security of Rs. 1,000, that he would reside at such place in the neighbourhood of Multan as the Commissioner approved and under police surveillance. He was released from surveillance with permission to return to his home, on the 7th September 1886, under the sanction conveyed by Government of India, Foreign Department letter No. 1397-F., dated the 13th August 1886.

Lahore, (Sd/-) W.M. Young,

The 23rd October 1886. Secretary to Government of Punjab.

KUKAS AND THE RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES IN CENTRAL ASIA

CONFIDENTIAL No. 504

From:—W.M. Young, Esquires,
Secretary to Government,
Punjab and its Dependencies.

To:—The Hon'ble C. Grant, C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

Dated Lahore, 22nd May 1882.

Foreign.

Sir,

With my confidential letter No. 227 of 28th February last was forwarded a translation of the joint letter from Gulab Khan and Said Khan, an officer in the Russian service at Katta Kurghan, and also detailed statements by Ghulam Mahiudin, once a Naib Resaldar in the 13th Bengal Cavalry, and by Sharafdin, the persons who brought the letter to this Government. These persons are still waiting in Lahore for the orders.........

3. Among other things it is stated in these papers that two messengers have been sent by the Russian Governor at Samarkand with letters for the Maharaja of Kashmir and for the Kukas. Of these messengers Jas Ram and Ghulam Rasul, Lohani, the former is said to have been sent with letters to the Russian authorities by Budh Singh, Kuka, in the end of 1880; while the latter is supposed to be a Russian spy, and is said to have been noticed at Lahore by Gulab Khan in the winter of 1880-81.

4. Mullah Ikram says that he passed these individuals at Tash Kurghan about the 7th March last, and that they appear to have halted there on account of the heavy snowfall and the bad state of the road onwards to Kabul. Mullah Ikram is sure that they did not overtake him again, and a careful inquiry made at Peshawar by Inspector Muhammad Amir of the Central Police Office, and by Mullah Ikram, who were specially sent there together for the purpose, showed that up to the 27th April the two men had not passed through.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor is not disposed to attach much importance to these statements, but arrangements have been made through the Commissioner of Peshawar to have a watch maintained for the arrival of Jas Ram and Ghulam Rasul, and to secure papers of a treasonable kind if they are bringing any such. Special instructions have been issued that they are not to be otherwise interfered with.

6. A present of Rs. 500 has been sent to Gulab Khan, through the channel indicated by him, in acknowledgment of his news-letter.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Translation of a Letter written by Gulab Khan from Katta Kurghan, in Turkistan, on the 26th January 1882, and brought to the Punjab Government at Lahore by Mullah Ikram, Tajik, of Katta Kurghan.

(Selected portions the letter are given here—Compiler)

I have already sent some information about the Maharaja of Kashmir, which I obtained from Said Khan. How, in 1873, Karm Parkash, Udasi, an employee of the Kashmir Raja, was sent by Sardar Attar Singh with a letter from the Kashmir Raja, and came to Tashkand. The purport of this letter was

to this effect:—"**We obey the English Government because Russia is far off. When you come in this direction we will serve you. All the notables throughout Hindustan are disaffected to the English.**" A *Khillat* was given to the messenger, and the Gobernath ordered his name to be recorded. He gave him two potraits as tokens and dismissed him, saying—Treat my messengers well when they come."

Previous to this, in 1872, one Sher Singh, Brahman of Raja Rajaori, who was Hakim of Supar (?) in the Baramullah circle, was sent by the Raja of Kashmir and came to the house of Sham Das, Khatri, Suri (of Haripur in the Hazara district) at Baisun, in the Hissar Kolab district, on the borders of Bokhara. From Baisun, Sher Singh and Sham Das started together and went to General Kaufman at Tashkand. He said he was a trusted employee of the Kashmir Raja, who had sent him to say he (the Raja) desired to be on friendly terms with the Russians. He said that if the General wished it a specially trusted employee could be sent. The Russian Governor replied—"By all means let one come." Sher Singh then departed, and returned afterwards with Karm Parkash. Sham Das, Suri, still lives at Baisun. I expect he will return to his home at Haripur this very year.

One Eshar Das, Brahman of Phagwara, in the Kapūrthala State, accompanied Karm Parkash back to Jammu, and then returned to report his safe arrival there. Eshar Das is living at Katta Kurghan now.

In 1880 I reported about Abdul Wahab of Yusafzai who was sent by the Russians to Kashmir. He returned to Tashkand with Jiwan Mal, Dogra and wrote to tell this to Said Khan, and also said he had brought a letter from the Raja. The letter Abdul Wahab took to Jammu was to this effect:—"We are sending Abdul Rahman Khan to Kabul. When he engages the English you should raise a disturbance in the East, and we will assist you." The Raja sent a reply by Jiwan Mal as follows:—"You are preparing for war with China; when you have conquered them and intend to occupy Kashghar and the country close to my Border, I will do whatever you tell me. You have not even crossed your border; how then can I raise

a disturbance till you advance? We have a saying—*Ab na Didah, Mozah Kashidah.* 'He has taken off his shoes before he even saw the water' (i e. I will do nothing precipitate.)"

After Karm Parkash's visit, Sardar Attar Singh* sent another man named Ganga Ram, Dogra Brahman of Dhanisal, in the Riasi district of the Jammu territory, with some message from the Raja. Ganga Ram remained for four years at Samarkand, and petitioned General Abramoff to be allowed to learn the Russian language in the Russian school. He received permission, and studied Russian for four years and when he had acquired a good knowledge of the language he returned to Jammu, and was well rewarded by the Raja, and was made a Tehsildar. He is now at Dhanisal. His face is pock-pitted, and one eye is almost closed.

*Died six years ago. He was head of the Jammu Secret Intelligence Department. Has been succeeded by his son Rup Singh.

On the 18th September 1881, Ghulam Rasul, Lohani about whom and his journey to India I made a statement in 1880, arrived in Samarkand and went on to Tashkand. The following particulars regarding him were obtained from Reuben, the Jew who got them through Ishaq, the Jew. He left his two companions in Jammu and after travelling all through Hindustan returned to Tashkand. He went to Jaipur and ascertained that Ibrahim Shah had really been sent by the Raja of Jaipur. That the Raja was dead and his country was being administered by the English. That the English were very tyrannical, and had banished a number of people who had been settled there for a long time. That all the Darbar officials were discounted at heart but dissembled their real feelings. That he had interviewed the Kukas and had ascertained that Budh Singh and his followers were all waiting for their opportunity.

On the 8th January 1882 a letter was received from Gurcharan Singh[1] Kuka in which he said—"We are all ready and have also made preparations for war; we hope you will come quickly." This letter was sent by post via Bokhara through Shambu Hindu Shikarpuri, to General Abramoff at

1. Gurcharan Singh was living under surveillance at Multan

—Compiler.

Samarkand. It was written in Sanskrit. Said Khan says the letter was signed by Gurcharan Singh in Gurmukhi. I told Said Khan that Gurcharan Singh had been arrested, but he would not believe me, and said "If he had been arrested how could he have written?" It will be remembered that then Jas Ram, Brahman came here. I spoke to Said Khan about him, and made him pretend to think that Jas Ram had given a false account of himself; and how Said Khan possessed himself of Jas Ram's letters and then took copies to the Hakim and tore them up in his presence......When the letter (mentioned above) came from Gurcharan Singh, the Russians had search made for Jas Ram, as they found they were mistaken in their suspicions of him. An order came from Samarkand to the Hakim of Katta Kurghan, bidding him direct Said Khan to cause search to be made for Jas Ram, and to bring him to Samarkand. He sent Kara Bhoja a sowar to Bokhara to fetch Jas Ram and sent him to the General at Samarkand. The General gave Jas Ram a *Khillat* and sent him with his own man Ghulam Rasul Lohani, mentioned above, to Jammu. He gave them several portraits as tokens, some tangas and letters, among them one written at the General's order in Dogri by Mansukh Brahman Dogra mentioned above; and dimisising them on the 16th January 1882, told them to take these letters to the Raja of Jammu. The reason of their going to Jammu is this, that in all their letters the Kukas state that the Jammu Raja is their friend. The letter which Jas Ram brought was signed by Budh Singh, and this also stated that the Jammu Raja was favourable disposed towards him, and would do whatever he (Budh Singh) required. This letter is in the possession of Said Khan and perhaps I may be able to obtain possession of it. Ghulam Rasul and Jas Ram left for Jammu on the 16th January 1882, and I therefore considered it advisable to send Mullah Ikram after them, in the hope that through him they might fall into the hands of Government. Jas Ram is a fat man of middle height; fair complexion; has a grizzled beard. Age about 45 years.

A brief account of Gulab Khan's antecedents.

Gulab Khan, who has furnished at different times information regarding affairs in Russian Turkestan, and notably about Russian intrigues with the Kukas, is a native of the Rawal Pindi district. He was at one time a Government servant, having been a Sub-Inspector in the Telegraph Department on Rs. 30 per mensem. He deserted in June 1877 for reasons which appeared unaccountable at the time, but he has since explained that domestic troubles* were at the bottom of his action. It would appear, however, that a roving disposition coupled with a penchant for intrigue had also a good deal to do with it.

*His uncle ran away with his wife.

In August 1879 he, wrote from Russian territory to the late Sir Louis Cavagnari at Kabul, and later on in response to an authorised invitation from Mr. Christie came down to the Punjab, arriving at Peshawar on the 3rd of October 1880. On this occasion he furnished information which eventually led to Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, being placed under surveillance. The Commissioner of Peshawar, though believing him to be a Russian spy, recommended his employment as a news-writer.

Gulab Khan returned to Central Asia in March 1881, having received a present of money and instructions to communicate any further intelligence he might acquire to the Punjab Government. In February 1882, a long news-letter was received from him, for which he received a reward of Rs. 500.

On the 4th of April last he came back to the Punjab in company with Said Khan, a deserter from the 24th Punjab Native Infantry, and at present an official of the Russian Government in Katta Kurghan. Both of these men have supplied a great deal of information regarding Russian proceedings in Central Asia, and as Gulab Khan had been encouraged to collect information of the character supplied, and as, to quote the words of the Punjab Government, "he has on this occasion no doubt succeeded in producing some evidence of the intrigues which he reported," a reward of Rs. 1,000 has been given him on the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab.

Gulab Khan now desires to go back to Katta Kurghan, and Mr. Young writes regarding him :—

"We have now some experience of this man, and it may perhaps be fairly said that he has shown us his desire to render us service. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it possible that you may think it advisable to retain him as a news-writer, in which capacity he desires to be employed, and I therefore write to ask whether you would wish any arrangement of this kind to be made with him. He would probably be satisfied with a moderate recompense of say Rs. 50 or 60 per mensem. He has shown a considerable amount of tact in his communications, and may possibly be a useful agent if it is worth his while to be loyal to us."

Mr. Young asks for early orders as Gulab Khan wishes to travel with Said Khan, who has been permitted to return to Katta Kurghan, and has been granted a letter to the Amir recommending him to His Highness's protection. Gulab Khan wishes to take advantage of this pass.

If it is decided to accept the proposed, we need not go to the Financial Department in first instance. We can act and treating the matter as a secret service, one merely inform the Financial Department without furnishing details of what has been done.

F.L.—15th August 1883.

FROM GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB, No. 430, DATED 30TH MAY 1983.

Russian Intrigues with the Kukas. Detention of Shankar Rai, a Russian emissary. Information given by Gulab Khan and Said Khan, a Russian official.

Russian Intrigues with the Kukas

The fact of Russian intrigue with the Kukas has been long suspected by us. In 1881 Gurcharan Singh, the principal agent in the correspondence, was arrested and was confined as a political prisoner under Regulation III of 1818. The reason for

treating him thus was that he was dangerous, not as a Kuka, but as an Emissary from Central Asia, exciting vain hopes in the minds of the Kuka leaders. The information on which he was arrested was given by one Gulab Khan, who had repeatedly given valuable news to the Punjab Government.

Gulab Khan sent his messenger Sharafdin to India with papers containing the information he had collected for the British Government. When he communicated his intention to Said Khan the latter said that he also would send a letter and some papers by Shankar Rai. He accordingly sent him off with the papers which form enclosures I—V to present letter.

The papers are (I) a joint letter from Gulab Khan and Said Khan announcing their arrival at Kabul ; (II) the forged letter from the Punjab Police—Special Branch—inviting them to India; (III) a seditious letter from Budh Singh, Kuka, to the Russian authorities ; (IV) translation of the genealogical tree of one of the supposed leaders of the colony of Hindustani fanatics at Palosi, who had visited the Russian Governor at Samarkand in 1882 ; and (V) a proclamation bearing the scale of the Russian Governor of Katta Kurghan directing the arrest of English spies.

Said Khan's object in sending (III), (IV) and (V) was of course to ingratiate himself with the British authorities. Shankar Rai, his messenger, is an inhabitant of Hazara, who, a few years ago, proceeded to Katta Kurghan where he attached himself to Said Khan and was employed as a spy by the Russians. In one of Gurucharan Singh's letters (dated 27th October 1880) to the Russian General at Samarkand, he is mentioned as a Russian Emissary. Gulab Khan also gave the same information regarding him in 1880. When Shankar Rai and Sharafdin started from Kabul, Gulab Khan suspecting that Shankar Rai was carrying Russian communications to India, desired Sharafdin to have him searched at Peshawar. This was done, and the two important documents which form enclosures VI and VII were found on him. One was addressed to "the Government* of the hill country in the East," and the other to Budh Singh, Kuka. Both bear the seal of the Russian Governor of Katta Kurghan.

*Apparently Kashmir or Nepal

Shankar Rai and Sharafdin dened all knowledge of these documents.

The points to be considered are—

(1)—Whether the documents bearing the seal of the Russian Governor and found on Shankar Rai, are authentic.

It is of course possible that they may have been forged by Gulab Khan and Said Khan and palmed off on Shankar Rai. But the object of this is not very clear.

On the other hand, we know that Russian Emissaries have passed between the Kukas and the Russians, and that there is nothing improbable in intrigues of this sort.

(2)—Should Shankar Rai be placed under surveillance or confined.

(3)—Should Gurcharan Singh be again imprisoned. It is evident from these papers that since his release on security, he has been communicating with the Russian authorities.

(4)—What is to be done with Said Khan ? He may be a Russian spy, but whether he is one or not, he must be able to give us information. The Intelligence Department particularly would get much valuable material out of him.

20-6-83. (Sd.) J. W. R.

Before any action is taken Mr. Lambert might see these papers.

J. W. R.

(1) Let Mr. Lambert see the papers at once.

(2) Put up any papers giving an account of Budh Singh, Kuka.

22-6-83. C. G.

UNDER SECRETARY

You desired me to look into this case and see what action is needed. Orders are required on the following points :—

(1) Are Gurcharan Singh, Budh Singh, and Shankar Rai to be placed under strict confinement ?* Gurcharan Singh is at present under surveillance.

*Sir Charles Aitchison is opposed to any such measure vide paragraph 17 of Punjab Government letter No. 430, dated 30th May 1983, page 68.

(2) Are Said Khan and Gulab Khan to receive rewards of Rs. 1,000 each ?

(3) Is Said Khan to be allowed to return to Russian territory, and if so, is he to be granted—

(a) a certificate condoning his offence of desertion ;

(b) a letter to the Amir asking His Highness to grant him a safe passage through Afghanistan.

Mr. Lambert has been asked whether he sees any objection to Said Khan's return to Katta Kurghan. His reply is awaited.

F. L.—28th July 1883.

SECRETARY

As regards (1) ‡ the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion may be accepted ?

(2) and (3)* may be answered in the affirmative, but before our orders issue we can wait for Mr. Lambert's reply.

28th July 1883. J. W. R.

‡ I would keep Shankar Rai for a time under surveillance as Mr. Lambert proposes. Mr. Lambert thinks that very useful information may be got out of him. C.G.

*He replied (a) yesterday that he saw no objection.
30th July 1883. C. G.

(a) Telegram dated 20th July 1883.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 430.

From:—W. M. Young, Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Punjab and its Dependencies,

To:—C. Grant, Esquire, C. S. I.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

Dated Simla, 30th May 1883.

Foreign

General,

Sir,

In confidential letter No. 1012 E. P., dated 10th June 1882, from the Junior Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, the sanction of His Excellency the Governor General-in-Council was given to the proposals of the Punjab Government, that Said Khan, a Russian official in Katta Kurghan, who had absconded from Peshawar in 1864, should be informed that his desertion would be condoned and that should he return to India and bring any information of value, he would be suitably rewarded.

4. On the 20th February 1883, Mr. Brown, in charge of the Special Branch of the Central Police Office, received under registered covers from the District Superintendent of Police, Peshawar, a packet of papers found on Shankar Rai and another packet of papers made over to him by [illegible].

5. The papers found on Shankar Rai were as follows:—

Enclosure No. I.—A letter, addressed to the Punjab Government by Said Khan and Gulab Khan.

Enclosure No. II.—A letter signed Fakir Syad Muhammad Mir Jan, and dated 18th April 1882, addressed to Said Khan and Gulab Khan.

Enclosure No. III—A letter in Gurmukhi from Budh Singh, Kuka, to the Russian authorities at Samarkand It will be seen that, according to Said Khan's statement made on the 21st of April 1883, this letter was taken by him from Jas Ram, a Kuka emissary at Katta Kurghan, and forwarded by him for the information of Government. This is apparently the letter to which reference is made at page 3 of the printed enclosure to my confidential letter No. 504 of the 22nd May 1882, to your address. The letter is mentioned in enclosure No. I.

Enclosure No. VI.—A letter in Persian, bearing the seal of the Russian Governor of Katta Kurghan, addressed to "the Government of the hill country in the East."*

*Secret indication to the Government of Kashmir—Compiler.

Enclosure No. VII.—A letter in the same character and handwriting as No. VI., and bearing the same seal, addressed to Budh Singh and Jas Ram.

Enclosure No. VIII.—Passport in Russian and Turki of Shankar Rai, granted by the Governor of Katta Kurghan.

6. The search of Shankar Rai was conducted by Deputy Inspector Ata Muhammad Khan, of the Sadar Police Station, Peshawar, in a regular manner in the presence of witnesses, and the papers found were taken by him direct to Captain Nixon, District Superintendent of Police, who numbered them and sealed them up, and at once despatched them, under registered cover, to Lahore.

7. The papers given up by Sharafdin consisted of a journal of information regarding Central Asia, &c., collected by Gulab Khan and intended for the British Government, and are separately forwarded under cover of my No. 431 of this date.

8. Shankar Rai and Sharafdin were sent to Lahore, and on the 27th February 1883 Mr. Brown recorded their first statements. Shankar Rai gave a general account of himself He admitted that he was in the Russian service and constantly employed on secret missions. He said he had obtained four months' leave to visit India with Said Khan, and gave an account of their journey down. He admitted receiving all the papers referred to in Said Khan and Gulab Khan's joint letter from Kabul, but maintained complete silence regarding the two letters addressed to "the Government of the hill country in the East" and to "Budh Singh" respectively.

9. Sharafdin described his journey back to Katta Kurghan with the message from the Punjab Government to Said Khan. He stated that three days only after his arrival he was despatched by Gulab Khan to Karshi to maintain a watch on Shankar Rai. He also gave an account of the journey down to Kabul, and the circumstances under which he was sent from there with Shankar Rai, with secret instructions from Gulab Khan to have the former searched as soon as they reached Peshawar. He made no mention of the papers addressed to

the Government of the hill country and Budh Singh respectively.

15. Said Khan was next examined and questioned regarding the various documents found on Shankar Rai. He considered the letters from the Governor of Katta Kurghan to be genuine, on account of the seals. He expressed an opinion that the letter addressed to the "Government of the hill country" was intended for the Jammu or Nipal darbar. He attested the genuineness of the letter from Budh Singh, Kuka, to the Russian authorities taken by him from Jas Ram, the Kuka messenger; and mentioned the journey undertaken last year by Jas Ram and Ghulam Rasul, Lohani, the Russian spy, as detailed in Gulam Khan's report submitted under cover of my confidential letter No. 504, of the 22nd May 1882.

16. Upon the whole, although the matter *is* not free from considerable doubt, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks it probable that the papers found on Shankar Rai may be genuine documents, and that communications are thereby shown to have passed between the Russian authorities on the one hand, and the leaders of the Kuka sect on the other. The other hypothesis is that Gulab Khan may have caused the letter addressed to Budh Singh to be placed among Shankar Rai's effects, in order that he might have the credit of bringing to light negotiations of a secret character between the Russian authorities and the Kukas; and some colour is perhaps afforded to this view by the fact that Gulab Khan instructed Sharafdin to have Shankar Rai searched directly he reached British territory. But, on the other hand, the evidence of Said Khan, regarding the genuineness of the seals, if reliable, shows that the papers must in that case have been difficult to forge, while his statement regarding previous inter-communications, the production of the letter from Budh Singh, and the discoveries which have been previously reported to the Government of India, make this hypothesis much less probable. Regarding the letter addressed to the ruler of the hill country, it is impossible to venture a decided opinion; but if the statements made by Said Khan and Gulab Khan are to be believed regarding the presence of Kashmir agents in Central Asia, one of whom (Mansukh)

appears to have given Gulab Khan letters which were intended to procure him an interview with the Maharaja, it is not improbable that the letter was intended for the Kashmir Chief.

17. Sir Charles Aitchison does not attach great importance to these papers, and in his opinion it is quite possible that the communications of Said Khan and Gulab Khan may be mere attempts to get money. Still, as it may be held on the whole to be fairly established that Shankar Rai has been the bearer of secret communications between the Russian authorities and the Kuka leader, and as the Government of India on a previous occasion directed the issue of a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 for the detention of Gurcharan Singh on precisely similar grounds, he deems it proper to refer the present case for the orders of the Government of India. It will be observed that, shortly after his arrival at Multan, Gurcharan Singh must have sent a communication to the Russian Governor at Samarkand, which led to search being made for the Kuka messenger, Jas Ram. If it is the wish of the Government of India that further measures should be taken for suppressing these communications, the best way of doing so would be to place under strict confinement all the persons who are proved to have sent them, or to have been the agents of their transmission, *viz.*, Budh Singh, the Kuka leader, Gurcharan Singh, and Shankar Rai. But the Lieutenant-Governor thinks such action quite unnecessary, and believes that no serious harm can result from the occasional interchange of such enigmatical compliments as are contained in the communications appended to this letter. He would be inclined to take no formal notice of such matters.

18. As Gulab Khan has been encouraged to collect intelligence of the nature now forwarded, and as he has on this occasion no doubt succeeded in producing some evidence of the intrigues which he reported, the Lieutenant-Governor would advise that a reward of Rs. 1,000 be granted to him.

19. The Lieutenant-Governor proposes to tell Said Khan that he cannot offer him employment in the Punjab.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Secretary to the Government, Punjab.

LIST OF ENCLOSURES

No. III—Letter in Gurmukhi from Budh Singh, Kuka to the Russian authorities, with translation.

No. VII—Letter in Persian, bearing the Seal of the Russian Governor of Katta Kurghan, addressed to Budh Singh and Jas-Ram, with translation.

ENCLOSURE NO. III.

Translation of a letter in Gurmukhi from Budh Singh, Kuka, to the Russian authorities.

By the mercy of the one true Guru.

Written by Baba Budh Singh, Kuka, to the Gobarnath* of Turkistan and to General Janoff † at Samarkand. Be it known to you that your letter for Baba Ram Singh, in which you enclosed your own pictures (? photos), was received by us, by the hands of Suba Gurcharan Singh, in a safe condition. We have been much delighted after reading the letter and looking at your likeness. The happy news of the arrival of your letter, and of its bearer Gurcharan Singh, was communicated to the Subas (leading Kukas) and other Kukas, and they have received the tidings with much pleasure. We have been advised by them to send your letter on to the true Guru and 12th King, Ram Singh, and to send an intelligent man to you with a letter to the following effect :—

*(Gubernator—Governor.)

†General Ivanoff ?—D. E. McC.

We are not in need of your money, or arms and ammunition. By the grace of the true Guru, we have all stores in readiness. The Kukas, including Subas, number 315,000 souls, and they are always in readiness. Come here and shew yourselves. Then, by the grace of the true Guru, we will destory the Malechh Faranghes in a moment. Your coming (to this country) is true, and is confirmed by the following saying of the 10th King, Guru Gobind Singh. *Verse.* The fifth year will

be auspicious, when only 50 years will remain to the Ganges (to be considered a sacred stream). Mountains will fall, and the Jumna will unite (with another river), and a powerful man will then take up his residence (*i.e.*, will take possession of the country). Another saying of Guru Gobind Singh is as follows, *Verse.* The Kalgi Avtar will come into existence in order to blot out the sins of the world. He will mount a horse and use his bow and arrows and his sword. The lion will come out of the mountains and make the people repeat songs of piety. Sambal* will be fortunate where Hari (God) will appear in Harmandar (God's temple). *Verse.* May Guru Nanak and the other Gurus protect you and not bring the least difficulty on you.

Do not let anxiety prey on your mind. By the grace of the Guru, the Kukas are increasing every day. The hill Raja is our friend. All people disaffected to the Malechhas. On this account, we have sent Misar Jas Ram to you. He is intelligent and will answer any question that you may put to him. Any message. which you may by him will be carried out throughtfully.

We shall sign ourselves Safaid Singh and Lal Singh.

Signed.—Budh Singh, Baba, dated 5th Maghar (*Sudi*—bright half of the moon) H. E. 1937 (Corresponding to November —December 1880).

Note :—The genuineness of the above letter is questionable.

—Compiter.

*A village in the Muradabad district, North-West Provinces, where it is foretold that the last Hindu incarnation will become manifest.

ENCLOSURE NO. VII.

Translatian of a letter in Perslan, bearlng the seal of the Russian Governor of Katta Kurghan, addressed to Budh Slngh and Jas Ram.

IN the name of the God.

To the powerful, noble and mighty Raja Budh Singh and Subedar Jas Ram. Be it known to you that the bearer of the letter will deliver the answer of those in higher authority to the communications between us. Be pleased to act upon it. In



Letter in Persian from Russia to Raja Budh Singh (Guru Hari Singh) (Courtesy : National Archives of India)

truth it will be quickly fulfilled. The pass-word "red and white" has been noted.

The Governor of the Province's own seal (is attached).

WASAKHAWICH,

Hakim, Katta Kurghan.

Statement of Gulab Khan

A letter in Gurmukhi which Said Khan told me Jas Ram had brought to Katta Kurghan from the Punjab about May 1881. Gurcharan Singh and Budh Singh sent Jas Ram off with this letter to the General at Samarkand, after Gurcharan Singh's return to the Punjab in the end of 1880, and before Gurcharan Singh was arrested. One Ilahi Bakhsh, Mirasi of Patiala, accompanied Jas Ram on this journey. Ilahi Bakhsh is in Central Asia. He wanders about from place to place begging a living. He was at Khatarchi when we left Katta Kurghan the other day. Jas Ram took the letter in the first instance to the General at Samarkand, who sent Jas Ram and the letter to the Hakim of Katta Kurghan, with orders for Said Khan to examine them and report. Said Khan wrote a report in Turki to the effect that the letter was valueless ; that the Kukas were of no account and their messages were all false ; that they only came to see what they could get from the Russians. The Hakim then said, "I trust you to dispose of this case as you think best". Said Khan then sent for Jas Ram and said to him "Your head is shaved, and the Sikhs never cut their hair ; what have you in common with them ? I don't believe you are really a messenger from the Kukas, who are Sikhs: If they sent a men, they would send one of their own people". Jas Ram could not reply and went away crest-fallen. He eventually left Katta Kurghan and went to Bokhara, where numbers of Hindus reside. In this matter Said Khan acted by my advice. I asked Said Khan to give me the Gurmukhi letter, as I wanted it to forward to the Punjab Government, but he

said, "I will give it you when you proceed to India." The papers Said Khan tore up before the Hakim, were his report and translation of the Gurmukhi letter in Turki, which he had written.

I have previously reported that a second letter came from Gurcharan Singh to the General at Samarkand. It was written in Sanskrit and signed by Gurcharan Singh in Gurmukhi. It came by post in December 1881, through Jeta Mukhi, Shikarpuri trader at Samarkand, and was addressed to the General at Samarkand.‡ General Ivanoff was then General at Samarkand. He succeeded General Abramoff. Narain Das, Acharji of Hazro, translated the letter to the General, who ordered search to be made for Jas Ram. The Hakim of Katta Kurghan told Said Khan to make enquiries as to Jas Ram's whereabouts, and he ascertained that he was in Bokhara and sent Kara Khwaja, *sowar*, to fetch him. He did so, and Jas Ram was taken to Samarkand at the end of December 1881. Jas Ram was examined by the General, who acknowledged him to be a messenger from Gurcharan Singh and rewarded him with a *chogha*, &c. He gave Jas Ram a reply to take to Budh Singh, Kuka, and sent his own man, Ghulam Rasul, Lohani, with him, to see him safely on the way down to India. All these particulars I learnt from Mansukh, Brahman, the Jammu agent, who lives in Katta Kurghan. He was present in Samarkand when Jas Ram was interviewed by the General. When asked by what route he would proceed, Jas Ram said he would travel by way of Kashmir, because the Maharaja treated the Kukas well. He said he would interview the Maharaja of Kashmir on the way.

‡ This letter must have been written by Gurcharan Singh very soon after he was sent to reside at Multan under Police surveillance, in June 1881.—D. E. McC.

I forgot to mention that Said Khan took Jas Ram to Samakand, and that he got him away from there as quickly as he could, for fear the man might complain against him. Said Khan took Jas Ram before the General, and he took care that Jas Ram did not complain against him. Mansukh returned to Katta Kurghan before Said Khan, and told me of Jas Ram having been sent back with a letter for Budh Singh. Budh

Singh is always styled "Raja" in the Kuka communications, and is considered to be a great man by the Russians, as he always speaks of his following of 315,000 Kukas and of his 22 Subas. Gurcharan Singh first stated these to be the numbers of the Kukas, and his report was recorded in the Russian Governor's office at Samarkand.

I have never seen the papers, now shown to me before, *viz.*, the writing addressed to the Government of the Hill Country in the East (*Sultanat Mashrak Kohistani rajgani*) and the writing addressed to the powerful noble and mighty Raja Budh Singh and Subahdar Jas Ram (*Shajat wa Sharafat dastgah Raja Budh Singh, wa Jas Ram, Subahdar*), both of which bear the seal of the Hakim of Katta Kurghan. It is the same seal as is impressed on Shankar Rai's passport and the Turki proclamation sent to Government by Said Khan. This seal is in the possession of the Hakim of Katta Kurghan, and no one could possibly obtain possession of it, as he wears it on his finger. The seal bears the Hakim's name "Wasakhawich." I recognise the handwriting of the two papers now shown to me. It is that of Mirza Zarif, at present Kotwal of Katta Kurghan, formerly *Bulsnol* (Tahsildar) of that place. If I live, I will obtain for Government other papers written by Mirza Zarif, for the sake of comparison. Both these papers are genuine letters from the Governor of Katta Kurghan, and in my opinion were undoubtedly given to Shankar Rai when he went to the house of the Governor of Katta Kurghan, accompanied by Mirza Zarif, on his return from Samarkand, as I have related above. In Turkistan, Kashmir is always styled "Kohistan," and the letter addressed to the "Government of Kohistan in the East" is meant for the "Kashmir" Government. It acknowledges three communications, and says a reply will be sent to them speedily. It further desires the Government addressed to receive the message sent as true. The words "*albatta albatta*" are always written at the end of documents in Turkistan, when it is desired do to draw particular attention to the contents, just as in Urdu "*takid jano*" or "*takid hai*" are written. The same idiom is used in conversation to emphasize anything that has been said. With regard to the other letter to Budh Singh, I have already mentioned that he is considered to be a man of influence, with a

powerful following, and is always styled "Raja" by the Russian authorities. The secret pass-word "*Red and white*" was arranged by Gurcharan Singh with the General at Samarkand, and Said Khan told me this.

In secret communications the Russians are always styled "*White*" and the English "*Red*". The people of Turkistan always call the Emperor "Ak Padshah" (the white king). The fact of the paper having the secret sign "*Red and White*" in it, proves that it is a genuine communication. It was Said Khan who took Gurcharan Singh in the first instance to the Russian Government at Katta Kurghan, and that is how he knows about the secret sign.

NOTE—This statement has been read over to Gulab Khan and acknowledged by him to be correct.

Dated Lahore, 19th April 1883. D.E. McC.

Statement of Said Khan

...Shankar Rai was at Karshi when I reached there, and from there he attached himself to our party and travelled with us to Kabul.

I know quite well that Shankar Rai has not been sent on any mission now.*

*The two papers bearing the seal of the Hakim of Katta Kurghan and addressed to the "Government of the Hill Country in the East", and to "Raja Budh Singh," found on Shankar Rai when searched at Peshawar, are now shown to deponent.

I have never seen either of these papers before. They undoubtedly bear the seal of the Hakim of Katta Kurghan, which remains in his own possession, and is never entrusted to another. The papers are not written in the handwriting usually employed in Turkistan. The letter [illegible] is always written with three dots under it, as in my passport. In the letter addressed to the "Government of the hill country in the East," by which Kashmir or Nipal is meant, the word number is written thus [illegible]; whereas it should be. [illegible] But in

the letter addressed to Budh Singh the س in the word

پسغ is written, as in Turkistan, with three dots below. I now retract what I said above. These letters were undoubtedly written in Turkistan, and are both in the same handwriting. I think they are in the handwriting of Hikmatulla, son of Fathulla, a shopkeeper of Katta Kurghan, but he has never been employed about the courts. I am astonished and cannot understand what these papers are. I only sent four papers with a letter to Government from Kabul by the hand of Shankar Rai. He never mentioned having these at any time. I will question Shankar Rai about these papers, and he will tell me the truth. I have never heard Budh Singh spoken of as 'Raja' before ; he is always spoken of as "Budh Singh, Kuka." The Gurmukhi letter I sent to Government by the hand of Shankar Rai was taken by Jas Ram to Major-General Ivonoff at Samarkand. He sent it and Jas Ram to Lieutenant-Colonel Wasakhawich for enquiry and report from me as to whether he was a genuine messenger. I translated the letter into Turki. Jas Ram read it to me. I cannot read Gurmukhi myself, but I can write my name in that character. I can read and write Kayathi and Nagri, but not Gurmukhi.

At Gulab Khan's suggestion I said to Jas Ram ; "You are not a Sikh ; you are shaved; if you were a genuine messenger from the Kukas you would be a Sikh." I reported to the Hakim that the man was not a genuine messenger, and he told me to write down whatever I had to report. I wrote "This man is a Brahman and not a Sikh, and appears to have come to see what he can get from us. The Sikhs hate the Brahmans, and would not employ one as a messenger. The communication does not appear to be genuine." Lieutenant-Colonel Wasakhawich reported as above to Major-General Ivanoff at Samarkand, and he sent word that the man might be dismissed. Jas Ram then went to Bokhara. I kept the Gurmukhi letter to give to the British Government. There is no doubt that the letter is genuine, and was brought from the Punjab by Jas

Ram. I wished to make interest with Government, whenever I returned to the Punjab, by producing this letter. Two or three months after Jas Ram went away to Bokhara, a letter was received at Samarkand from Gurcharan Singh Kuka. It came by post to Jetha Mukhi; Shikarpuri trader at Samarkand. An order came from Samarkand to Lieutenant-Colonel Wasakhawich to have search made for Jas Ram. I was told to carry out the orders, and sent Kara Khoja to Bokhara to fetch Jas Ram. He brought him to Katta Kurghan. The Hakim sent me with Jas Ram to Samarkand. This was in the end of 1881. I was in great perplexity because I had kept Jas Ram's letter ; so while we were on our way to Samarkand, I told Jas Ram that the General had afterwards made up his mind that the letter was genuine and had therefore sent for him. I said nothing to him about another letter having come from Gurcharan Singh. Jas Ram himself told me the letter had been given him by Baba Budh Singh.

I took Jas Ram before the General at Samarkand, who told him that Baba Budh Singh wanted him to return to India at once, and that he would give him a message to take to Baba Budh Singh, and would send his own man, Ghulam Rasul, Lohani, with him. Major-General Ivanoff said all this in my presence to Jas Ram. He gave Jas Ram a *khillat* and 2,000 *tangas* for his expenses and those of Ghulam Rasul on the road down. He asked Jas Ram by what road he would travel, and he said, through Kashmir. The General asked him why he would go through Kashmir, and Jas Ram replied: "The Kashmir Raja is friendly to the Kukas, and is of one mind with us."

I don't know if any written letter was sent to Baba Budh Singh by Jas Ram, or only a message. The letter that came from Gurcharan Singh was in Shastri, and was read to the General by Narain, Shikarpuri trader at Samarkand. Gurcharan Singh lived with him when he was in Samarkand. The only persons present when the *final* instructions were given were, Yakub, a Jew, who is interpreter to the Governor; Narain ; Jas Ram, and Ghulam Rasul. They then left, and I was much relieved that all passed off so well, and that I did not get into trouble for detaining Jas Ram's letter.

Ghulam Rasul had returned to Samarkand when I was

there last September. He said he was going to Khokand. I asked him by what route he and Jas Ram had gone to India. He said "When we got to Jalalabad I learnt that the authorities were on the look-out for us. After waiting some time at Jalalabad we crossed the Kunar river at Kama, and passed through Bajaur and Swat to Hoti Mardan. From there we crossed the Indus by the Dalmahat ferry opposite Torbela, and proceeded through Hazara." Jas Ram did not return with Ghulam Rasul. I was afraid to ask too many questions for fear Ghulam Rasul might tell the Genaral.

Shankar Rai examined by Said Khan in My Presence.— D.E. McC.

Question.—Where did you get these two papers (showing the letters bearing the seal of the Hakim of Katta Kurghan addressed to the "Government of the Hill Country in the East" and to "Raja Budh Singh.") ? Who gave them to you ? Do not be afraid to tell the Sahib while I am here.

Answer.—I know nothing whatever of these papers. They were not found on me.

Shankar Rai has now denied before me all knowledge of the two suspicious papers, and I don't knoww hat to say about them. I can only say that the seals are undoubtedly genuine. No one has access to the Hakim's seal ; it always remains in his possession. He has no authority to send any such communications, supposing them to be genuine. He is only a district officer like a Deputy Commissioner in this country.

In the letter addressed to Raja Budh Singh, the words "*Surkh Sufed*" (Red and White) occur. The same words are in the Gurmukhi letter I took from Jas Ram. They appear to be a secret sign, agreed upon between the Samarkand General and the Kukas, but I cannot say for certain. I know nothing about the matter. Communications have passed between the Kukas and the Russian authorities; there is no doubt about that Communications have passed between Kashmir and the Russians also.

In 1871, Karm Parkash, Udasi, came from Kashmir with a letter from the Maharaja of Kashmir which he took to Tashkand to General Kaufmann, the Governor-General. Karm Parkash on his way back from Tashkand, came and

stayed with me at Samarkand. He was accompained by Esar Das, Brahman of Phagwara. Esar Das is at the present moment in Katta Kurghan; he lives at the *Thakurdwara* there. Karm Parkash told me that he had taken a letter from the Maharaja of Kashmir to General Kaufmann, and that the latter had told him to take back word to the Maharaja that he had read the letter and the Maharaja would be recorded as friendly to the Russians.

In 1870 there was a man named Ganga Ram, who came to Samarkand from the Maharaja of Kashmir. He was three years in Samarkand learning Russian. Mansukh told me the Maharaja made him a Tahsildar when he returned to Kashmir.

Dated Lahore, the 21st April 1883. D.E. McC.

NO. 81.

No. 1763 E, dated Simla, 9th August 1883. (Confidential)

From:—C. Grant, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.,

To:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

No. 430, dated 30th May 1883.
No. 431 " "
No. 560, dated 13th July 1883.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters noted in the margin, furnishing information supplied by Said Khan and Gulab Khan regarding the position and proceedings of the Russian Government in Central Asia, and the alleged intrigues caused in by the Russian authorities with the Kuka sect in the Punjab.

2. With respect to the point on which the orders of the Government of India are required, I am to say that the Governor-General in Council concurs in the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, expressed in paragraph 17 of your letter No. 430, dated the 30th May, that it is unnecessary to place either Budh Singh, Gurcharan Singh, or Shankar Rai in strict confinement. It, however, appears advisable to the Governor-General in Council, that Shankar Rai, who may be in possession of important and useful information,

should be kept for a time under careful surveillance. I am accordingly to request that this may be arranged for, and that any information which he may divulge may be communicated to this office. At the expiration of a period of six months from the date of this letter his case should be again reported to the Government of India.

(DEMI-OFFICIAL)

Dated Lahore, the 28th December 1885 (Confidential).

From:—C.L. Tupper, Esq., C.S.,

To:— H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.

In continuation of my demi-official confidential letter of the 12th instant, on the subject of the preoceedings of Sardar Thakur Singh, Sandhanwalia, &c., I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to inform you that it has been ascertained that the Sardar has had Major Evans Bell's work entitled "The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Dhulip Singh," translated into Gurmukhi, and has arranged to have 300 copies printed at the "Aftab-i-Punjab" Press in Lahore City. It is said that the Sardar intends to circulate this Punjabi translation of Major Bell's book gratis to certain persons in this province.

The translation is being copied for the press by Partap Singh of Amritsar, and as soon as it is complete the work will be struck off.

Partap Singh accompanied Sardar Thakur Sihgh to England, and while there, read the "Granth" to the Maharaja. He returned to India about a month before the Sardar. He is said to be profligate and of indifferent character, but has ingratiated himself with Sardar Thakur Singh, who is very fond of him.

Diwan Buta Singh, the proprietor of "Aftab-i-Punjab" Press, has an establishment with 8 printing machines near the Kotwali in Lahore City. Prior to the deportation of the late Guru Ram Singh, he was an active Kuka; but he does not now openly profess the Kuka tenets. He is a wealthy man. He was originally "Diwan" to Maharani Jinda, and shortly before the rebellion of Mulraj at Multan, was detected in

attempting to create a disturbance in favour of the Maharani, and was deported to Allahabad where he was detained as a political prisoner for seven years.

In 1866 he set up a press at Lahore, and twice a month issued a law report called "Anwar-ul-Shams," which is still in existence. In 1872 he started the "Aftab-i-Punjab" newspaper, which is, as a rule, moderate in tone. The abolition of kine-killing has, however, been advocated from time to time; and in January 1883 a very distorted account of the murder of a police constable at Bhaini, in the Ludhiana district, at the hands of a Kuka fanatic, named Arbangi Das, was published in this paper, showing a certain amount of sympathy with the Kukas.

Diwan Buta Singh is believed to keep up a correspondence with Sardar Thakur Singh.

Extract from Political Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab Police, dated 4th September 1886.

— A report is secretly current in the Firozpur Distt. that the Maharaja has voluntarily surrendered the pension he received from the British Government and has gone to Russia, where he is making arrangements for the enlistment of a large number of Sikhs and other Punjabis.

— It is rumoured that certain Kukas have applied to the Czar of Russia for permisson to join the Russian army, if 20,000 of the Sect are willing to enlist.

Extract of Intelligence : Dated 5th February 1887.

9. Mian Singh of Sirhali is said to have been made a Mahant and to have arranged with Wariam Singh of Chak Ram Dass, district Sialkot, to proceed to Russian territory two months hence. Mian Singh is now at Bhaini.

INTENTION OF GURCHARAN SINGH, KUKA, TO VISIT CENTRAL ASIA

Extract from Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab Police, No. 17, dated 30th April 1887.

States that Gurcharan Singh having petitioned the Punjab Government for permission to visit Central Asia, has been informed that he is free to go where he pleases, except to Bhaini.

Under-Secretary

Please see Azizuddin's note about Gurcharan Singh.

W.S.—10th May 1887.

Secretary

As to Gurcharan Singh the inexpediency of allowing him to visit Central Asia may be suggested to the Punjab Government.

10th May 1887. G.S.F.

DEMI-OFFICIAL FROM W.M. YOUNG, Esq., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB (TO UNDER-SECRETARY), dated 21st May 1887.

In reply to demi-official letter of the 12th instant, gives reasons why the Lieutenant-Governor complied with the request of Gurcharan Singh to go to Central Asia. States that, in difference to the views of the Government of India, the Lieutenant-Governor has ordered Gurcharan Singh to be informed that he must not leave the Punjab.

K.W. NO. 2

Paragraph 14, page 75, Abstract of Intelligence (Secret). Punjab Police, dated 30th April 1887.

Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, visited Katta Kurghan in the beginning of 1881. The Russian officers, at first considering him a person of no influence, turned him out, but on Said Khan's representation he was brought back from Bokhara, and was sent before General Avanoff at Samarkand. He had a paper in Gurmukhi character, purporting to have been written and sealed by all the influential Kukas in Punjab, offering their services to the Russian Government. This paper was translated by Bawa Bal Singh, who in 1885 was at his home, Dera Nanak, Gurdaspur District. At Samarkand, Gurcharan Singh was lodged in the house of Jas Ram of Shikarpur, and was given 300 roubles to meet his daily expenses. He remained at Samarkand for two months, and his assertion that he had 200,000 fighting men at his disposal was received with suspicion by the Russian officers, and on this he was asked to point out some person in Central Asia who knew him personally. Accordingly, he referred to one Dhian Singh Chimba (dyer) of Basauli, Rawal Pindi District, who at that time was residing at Katta Kurghan. This man on being summoned to Samarkand stated that he did not know him. On this Gurcharan Singh was paid another sum of 300 roubles and was ordered to go back to his home without being given any future hope or entering into any secret understanding with the Russian Government.

In 1884 Said Khan on his return from India informed General Avanoff of this man's influence and of his being imprisoned in the Multan Jail, so now it will be more than impolitic to allow him to visit Central Asia agian.

Extract from Punjab Police Abstract of Intelligence, No. 17, dated 30th April 1887.

14. Mahant Gurcharan Singh of Chak Ram Das, District Sialkot, who was released from surveillance at Multan last year, having petitioned the Punjab Government for permission to visit Afghanistan and Central Asia, has been informed

that he is free to go where he pleases, except to Bhaini, in the Ludhiana District. (Punjab Government No. 286 of 25th April 1887.)

NOTE :—District Superintendents of Police are requested to report the movements of this Kuka in their Confidential Diaries.—C.P.C.

Dated Simla, 12th May 1887 (demi-official).

From:—G.S. Forves, Esq., Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

To:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

With reference to paragraph 14 of the Punjab Police Abstract of Intelligence No. 17, dated the 30th April 1887, regarding Gurcharan Singh, I am desired to suggest, for the consideration of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, whether it would be expedient to allow this man to visit Central Asia. In 1881, or about that time, he is understood to have visited Bokhara and Samarkand, where he represented himself as a person of influence able to procure Kuka aid for the Russian Authorities.

Dated Simla, 21st May 1887 (demi-official).

From:—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To:—G.S. Forbes, Esq., Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

With reference to your demi-official letter of the 12th instant, regarding the movements of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, I am to say that, in the first place, as this individual is nearly 80 years old, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor looked upon his request as a threat to extort an allowance, and did not believe he would go to Central Asia ; and, in the next place, Mr. Lyall did not think he would do material harm if he did, and wished to avoid appearing to think it of importance whether Gurcharan Singh entered Afghanistan or not.

In deference, however, to the views of the Government of India, Mr. Lyall has now ordered Gurcharan Singh to be told that he must not leave the Punjab.

(DEMI-OFFICIAL)

Dated Calcutta, the 26th February 1889 (Confidential).
From:—W.J. Cuningham, Esq.
To:—C.L. Tupper, Esq.

With reference to Young's demi-official letter of the 21st May 1887, I write to inform you that we have recently heard that Mahant Gurcharan Singh is said to meditate going to Central Asia again.

(DEMI-OFFICIAL)

Dated Lahore, the 30th March 1889 (Confidential).
From:—C.L. Tupper, Esq.
To:—W.J. Cuningham, Esq.

With reference to your confidential letter of 26th February 1880, regarding Mahant Gurcharan Singh, the District Superintendent, Police, of Sialkot, in whose district Gurcharan Singh is living, has been directed to prevent any attempt on the part of Gurcharan Singh to leave the Punjab.

BISHEN SINGH ARORA, OF KABUL, KUKA SUBA

The following information regarding Bishen Singh, the Kuka Suba in Russia, has been compiled from all available sources of reference :—

In April 1880, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported as follows :—

"The Kukas are at present in a state of excitement; they hold frequent consultations, and Baba Budh Singh of Bhaini (the Kuka leader) is visited by men from distant place. One Bishen Singh, Arora, a Kuka of great wealth, has agencies in Peshawar, Kabul, Bokhara, and Russian territory, and is the medium of communication between the Russians and Budh Singh. Russian emissaries in disguise meet Budh Singh's agents through Bishen Singh's assistance."

In June 1880, the same authority reported that Samand Singh, Lambardar of Chajjewal, and Kanh Singh of Kamalpur both stated that Bishen Singh was with the Russians; also that six months ago he visited Baba Budh Singh, and give him a suit of broadcloth, which was forwarded to Guru Ram Singh, &c. Bishen Singh was said to have been coverted to the Kuka faith by Balak Singh of Hazro.

In August 1880, the District Superintendent of Police, Firozpur, reported that "it is commonly said among the Kuka sect that the time has come for the Russians to invade India through Kabul." They say that when Guru Ram Singh was arrested, a man named Bishen Singh was sent to Russia via Turkistan to plead the cause of the Kukas.

On the 28th August 1880, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that Joga Singh of Dhulkot, in the Firozpur district, said that "12 years ago he accompanied Guru Ram Singh to Hazro, in the Rawalpindi district, where they met Bishen Singh, who stated he was a resident of Kabul, and was in the confidence of the Sardars, who employed him in collecting information about Hindustan. He said that at times he used to live in Peshawar. Joga Singh again met Bishen Singh at the Anandpur fair in the Hoshiarpur district, about 10 years ago. He said that the Sakhis (prophecies) recovered from the Badh Tirath tank at Haripur in the Sirsa district, foretell that Bishen Singh will lead a Muhammadan army across the North-West Frontier into the Punjab, and added that Bishen Singh is in communication with the Russians, as also are twelve other Kukas who escaped from Maler Kotla after the disturbances of 1872, and made their way to Russian territory.

In October 1880, the District Superintendent of Police, Lahore, reported that Bishen Singh had been created a Suba (or officer of the sect) by Mahant Gurcharn Singh of Chak Ram Das, in the Sialkot district, and that they were preparing for a journey together to Bokhara. Gurcharn Singh is the man who took a letter from Guru Ram Singh to the Russians in 1879, and in April 1880 forwarded another letter from Ram Singh's brother, Budh Singh, to the Russian Governor-General Turkistan. He returned to the Punjab in the autumn of 1880 with letters from the Russian authorities for Guru Ram Singh, which he sent to Bhaini, whence they were forwarded to Burma, where Ram Singh was confined. For his part in these transactions Gurcharn Singh was made a political detenu under Regulation III of 1818, and was kept under surveillance in Multan till 1887, when he was allowed to return to his home in the Sialkot district, on condition that he did not leave the district without permission of the local authorities, and did not attempt to cross the frontier.

On the 9th October 1880, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that Lal Singh of Gumti stated that Budh Singh had told him that he had received a letter from

Bishen Singh to the effect that the Russians had assumed a hostile attitude towards England.

On the 6th November 1880, the same officer reported that one Dewa Singh of Sanghera, in Patiala territory, gave out that in Sambat 1939 (A.D. 1882) the Russians would invade India, and would be accompanied by Bishen Singh. Dewa Singh's allusion was to the Sakhis referred to above.

On the 23rd April 1881, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that "information has been received from a secret agent that Bishen Singh, who is at present in Central Asia, has sent a message to Baba Budh Singh, asking him to send a trustworthy Kuka to meet him. He also sent word that he had been obliged to eat with the Russians, for which he hoped to be forgiven. He said the English would be treated with ten times the severity they showed to the blacks !"

In February 1882, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, made mention of a rumour that Guru Ram Singh had joined Bishen Singh, who would guide the Russian army to Hindustan, as mentioned in the Kuka Sakhis or prophecies.

On the 25th March 1882, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that four Kukas were said to have left Jammu to meet Bishen Singh in Russian territory.

On the 29th April 1882, the same authority noted that one Gulab Singh of Kamalpur, on his return from the Hurdwar fair, given out that Bishen Singh had returned from Russian territory, and announced that the Russians were preparing to invade India, and that an early advance was expected.

On the 20th May 1882, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that the expulsion of the English from India had been discussed by Kahn Singh and Gulab Singh of Kamalpur. Referring to the orders that had arrived from England to disband 18 regiments, they said that as a large portion of these troops were Sikhs, the men on discharge were not likely to resume their agricultural pursuits, but would make their way to Russia for service, as many Sikhs had already obtained employment there through Bishen Singh. On the 10th June 1882, the same authority reported that Bhanga

Singh of Rumi, police station Jagraon, mentioned that the Russians had sent a Kuka messenger through Bishen Singh to find out why the English had disbanded so many of their native regiments, and in what provinces the reductions had been chiefly effected. The messenger, he said, had returned to Bishen Singh with the required information.

On the 5th July 1882, the District Superintendent of Police, Gurdaspur, reported that Bishen Singh, who went with several Kukas to the Russian General at Bokhara, has now proceeded to interview Sardar Ayub Khan. Members of the sect were said to be showing signs of activity, and there was a general belief that Russia would come to their assistance.

The Punjab Special Branch in the confidential report of 14th July 1882 made mention of a Sardar Ganda Singh in Jammu, "who is said to have deputed two Kukas to Russian territory to enquire of Bishen Singh when the Russians would invade India and the *Khalsa raj* be established.

On the 8th September 1883, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that two secret agents, who had been deputed to Jammu to search for the absconded Kuka murderer Bhagwan Singh alias Arbangi Das, had returned unsuccessful. From Jammu they went to Hazro, in the Rawalpindi district, and put up with Kanh Singh, a nephew of the late Balak Singh, the founder of the Kuka sect, at whose house they met Hira Singh, a cousin of the well-known Kuka Bishen Singh, Arora of Kabul. Hira Singh informed them that Bishen Singh was in the Russian service, which he had entered at the desire of Guru Ram Singh, and that four months ago he had written to his relations in Kabul to the effect that the Russians were making warlike preparations, and intended to invade India in Sambat 1941 (A.D. 1884-85). Hira Singh added that Baba Budh Singh of Bhaini had sent two letters to Bishen Singh by the hands of four Kukas and a Kuka woman, who had reached their destination.

In the Punjab Special Branch confidential report of 20th September 1884 mention was made of nine Kukas having gone to Russia to visit Bishen Singh.

On the 11th October 1884, the District Superintendent of Police, Gurdaspur, reported as follows :—

"It is said that Suba Bishen Singh has 300 followers with him, and twice a week visits the Ruler of Bokhara, who is a creature of the Russian Government.

On the 6th December 1884, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that : —

"a short while ago, a Kuka named Sukha Singh alias Suchet Singh visited Bhaini, and delivered a letter to Baba Budh Singh from the well-known Kuka Suba Bishen Singh in Russian territory, requesting to be informed of the state of the country, army, &c., and enquiring whether the Hindus and Muhammadans were happy and contented under British rule."

On the 30th May 1885, the District Superintendent of Police. Ludhiana, reported that Bishen Singh, the well-known Kuka Suba in Russian territory, visited Bhaini about two years ago. He gave a chogha and portrait of the Emperor of Russia to Baba Budh Singh, and on returning took with him a copy of Ram Singh's likeness. The Chogha was said to be in possession of Mangal Singh of Gahil, Patiala State.

The District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported on the 27th June 1885, that Kanh Singh of Kamalpur had mentioned that the following persons were with Suba Bishen Singh in Russian territory :—Lahora Singh, Peshaura Singh of the family of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, one or two members of the family of Sardar Sham Singh of Attari; Kanh Singh of Sangowal, in the Ludhiana district; Sohel Singh of Kup in Maler Kotla, and 300 or 400 other Kukas.

The District Superintendent of Police. Ludhiana, on the 25th July 1885, reported that Kanh Singh of Hazro visited Bhaini after 18 years, and presented Baba Budh Singh with Rs. 5, receiving in return Rs. 21 and a shawl. He asked Budh Singh why he had not come to Hazro, and mentioned that many Sikhs had gone to Suba Bishen Singh in Russia. He

suggested that if any more Kukas were desirous of proceeding thither, Budh Singh should inform him by letter, and he would arrange to send them to Bishen Singh, through Aroras of Kubul, adding that it was impossible for any one to travel alone.

On the 19th June 1886, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that Kanh Singh, a Kuka, living in Kashmir, lately visited Bhaini, and informed Budh Singh that Suba Bishen Singh had asked him to try and send one hundred young Kukas to Russian territory. Budh Singh suggested that Kanh Singh should go to Sialkot, where there were several wandering Kukas.

On the 24th July 1886, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that a Kuka named Lakha Singh was said to have met Bishen Singh, the well known Suba, who told him he had been all over India collecting information for the Russians, and that he was now going on a visit to Kanh Singh of Hazro. Bishen Singh gave Lakha Singh a letter for delivery to Baba Budh Singh of Bhaini.

On the 2nd October 1886, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that Kanh Singh, Kuka of Lathia, police station Tarn Taran, Amritsar district while on a visit to Kanh Singh of Hazro met Bishen Singh, the Suba living in Russian territory, who told him that Dalip Singh was in Russia, and would shortly invade the Punjab with a large army.

On the 4th December 1886, the District Superintendent of Police, Firozpur, reported that a rumour was current in his district that Dalip Singh is with the Russians, and is accompanied by the Kuka Suba Bishen Singh.

On the 23rd July 1887, the District Superintendent of Police, Jullundur, reported that a fair was held by the Kukas of village Chura, police station Garshankur, in the Hoshiarpur district, at which, among other things, mention was made that "Suba Bishen Singh had joined Dalip Singh in Russia," and that the Maharaja was arranging for assistance in order to invade the

Punjab. The Kukas were said to become very excited when talking of Dalip Singh, and performed the '*chandi-ka-path*.[1]

On the 10th December 1887, the District Superintendent of Police, Jullundar, reported that Jowahir Singh, Kuka of Peshawar, is said to have returned from Russia a short time ago with a letter from Maharaja Dalip Singh, and to have delivered it to Kanh Singh of Hazro, in the Rawalpindi district. The letter states that Suba Bishen Singh, who is in Russia, intends to visit Anandpur and Bhaini in February next.

On the 8th October 1887, the District Superintendent of Police, Hoshiarpur, reported that "a man named Bishen Singh, who is in the service of the Amir of Afghanistan, arrived at Hoshiarpur on the 8th October, and stayed with Tulsi Ram, pensioner, for one day ; and with Sardar Zulficar Khan, Extra Assistant Commissioner, for one night. The reason of his visit is unknown."

On the 3rd March 1888, the same authority reported on the information of Bela Singh Nihang of Nankana, Lahore district, that "Bishen Singh.[2] ex-servant of the Amir, and now in the service of Dalip Singh, had been visiting various places in order to ascertain the feelings of the people towards the Maharaja[3]; and is believed to have now left India with a view to rejoining Dalip

1. A recitation of the book 'Chandi-ka-path,' which takes place during the performance of the 'hom,' or burnt sacrifice. It excites the hearers.

2. A.S. reports that this Bishen Singh is a different man altogether. He is a native of Sukho in the Rawalpindi district, and gave out in Guru Ram Singh's life time, that he was the same Bishen Singh mentioned in the "Sakhis" or prophecies of Guru Govind Singh.

11th February 1889. D.McC.

3. On the 28th April, the District Superintendent of Police, Gurdaspur reported independently :—"It is commonly believed that the Kukas are showing sign of activity owing probably to secret instigation from persons outside British territory."

Singh. The Maharaja, Bela Singh adds, is said to correspond with Sardar Shamshere Singh[1] of Bhartgarh, in the Ambala district, through Bishen Singh."

It seems probable that these two Hoshiarpur reports refer to Suba Bishen Singh whose intention to visit India was communicated by letter (see report of 10th December from District Superintendent of Police, Jullundur, above). The letter may have been delayed in transmission if it came by hand, and Bishen Singh arrived before it.

On the 2nd June 1888, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that Suba Bishen Singh, in the Russian service, was said to have command of several regiments, and that some of the Kukas with him hold high appointments, and that Bhagwan Singh alias Arbangi Das, the proclaimed murderer is with him.

Reference has been made in this note to the Kuka Sakhis or prophecies. They are alleged to have been recovered from the Badh Tirath tank at Haripur, in the Sirsa district, in October 1876. There is no doubt whatever that they were fabricated after the finding of the relics at Haripur as noted above, but they are widely circulated among the Kukas and implicity believed by them.

In one of these Sakhis, Bishen Singh Suba is thus alluded to :—

"There will be a man by name Bishen Singh in the grab of a fakir in the Russian dominions. The Czar will have a dream in which Bishen Singh will tell him the '*Mahan Malech* oppress us considerably. Our rule has been subverted by the *Malech*. Restore it to us by some means or other.' Russia will, therefore, write to Turkey to stop the way. Turkey will take little heed of the letter and be displeased. The Princes, Prime Ministers, and others also will disagree to the proposal of Russia. Turkey will refuse, whereupon Russia will be annoyed and issue orders to her servants. Turkey, Russia, and the rest will fight; but, inspite of all their efforts, Turkey will be defeated, and Russia will be victorious and a portion of

1. Son-in-law of the late Sardar Thakur Singh, Sindhanwalia, is married to a sister of Sardar Thakur Bakhshish Singh, the half brother of the Sardar now at Pondicherry.

the country will be annexed by the latter. Afterwards the forces of Russia will advance on the Punjab. Bishen Singh and other members of the Khalsa will all meet together, &c."

At the annual Baisakhi fair held at Amritsar in the spring of 1884, a "*Barah Mah,*" or cycle of song, was recited by one Dewa Singh of Shahbazpur in the Firozpur district. It caused considerable excitement among the listeners, as it referred to the Butcher murders at Amritsar on account of kine-killing, the Kuka rising of 1872, and exile of Guru Ram Singh, &c. After speaking of the expected deliverance of the Khalsa by the help of Russia, &c., Bishen Singh is thus referred to in this poem :—

"Bishen Singh, the Guru's precious jewel and martyr, who has a large following has entered into negotiations with others, who have expressed their readiness to join him."

This man is also mentioned quite independently in the Gulab Khan papers (see enclosure to Punjab Government's confidential letter No. 219, dated 5th May 1884, to the Government of india, Foreign Department), and with his son-in-law Jaimal Singh is there said to be in the Russian secret service at Samarkand.

Confidential.

FOREIGN SECRETARY

A.S. who is trying to trace the Sikhs who were reported by General MacLean in October last to have passed through Meshed with letters and presents for Maharaja Dalip Singh in Russia, had occasion recently to visit the Kuka head-quarters at Bhaini. He has for his purposes professed to join the Kukas, and was accompanied by a well known "Suba" named Khushal Singh who is closely related to Baba Budh Singh and trusted by him. **Baba Budh Singh told A.S. that "he believed Guru Ram Singh to be still alive, but that he had been removed from Rangoon by the English to some other place."** He said that "Guru Ram Singh had impressed upon his followers the necessity of conspiring with Russia at all hazards, and that Bishen Singh, a disciple of Mahant Gurchurn Singh, had been sent to Russia before Ram Singh was deported,

and had not since returned." He said "this Bishen Singh was an inhabitant of Kabul."

Baba Budh Singh said that "last year he sent one Sher Singh, a wandering Kuka, towards Russia, but when he got to Hazro, he was turned back by Bhai Kanh Singh (son of Balak Singh, the founder of the Kuka sect) who told him the road from Peshawar to Kabul was unsafe. Mahant Gurchurn Singh had also gone up to Hazro in those days intending to go on to Kabul, but was also turned back by Kanh Singh for the same reason."

Baba Budh Singh said that "Mahant Gurchurn Singh had many disciples in Kabul and its vicinity, and when anything is required to be done in that direction it is entrusted to Gurchurn Singh." He added that "Gurchurn Singh would shortly go to Kabul on his way to Russia to seek aid from the Czar. Also that the Kukas would remain hostile to the English until Ram Singh is resorted to them ; that Ram Singh had incarnated himself to defend religion, i.e. to stop cow-killing in India, and that the Kukas would never desist from their exertions until it is stopped."

Baba Budh Singh said that "Gurbakhsh Singh, son of one Ganga Singh, Arora of Ramki in the Gujranwala district, suffered from palsy and was told by Guru Ram Singh in a vision that he would not be cured till he joined the Kukas. The dream came true, and both father and son are now in the employ of the Jammu State." Budh Singh said "their being there was an advantage to the sect, and that it had been arranged with Ganga Singh through one Boota Singh, one of the special servants in the Bhaini "Langar" (free kitchen), that he should guide to the Russian border any person sent there by Bada Budh Singh."

I put up a printed memo, giving all the available information regarding Bishen Singh, the Kuka, who was sent to Russia to get aid for the Kukas in Guru Ram Singh's time.

Mahant Gurchurn Singh is the Kuka who was detected in carrying correspondence between the Kuka leaders and the Russian authorities in Central Asia in 1881, and who was detained at Multan till August 1886.

The Foreign Department in June 1887 directed that Mahant Gurchurn Singh should not be allowed to leave the Punjab.

Perhaps it would be as well, without referring in any way to A.S. as the source of information, to tell the Punjab Government that Gurchurn Singh is said to meditate going to Central Asia again, and to ask that steps may be taken to prevent his carrying out his intention.

11th February, 1889. D. McC.

SIKH SOLDIERS AND THE KUKA STATE PRISONERS IN THE CHUNAR FORT

Subject:—**Orders that the Kuka prisoners at Chunar should not be guarded by Sikh soldiers.**

Section: C
Heading: Distn. of Army—Native Army.
Register No. 272-S.
Subject:—Location of a Jat Coy. of the 10th N.I. at Chunar.
From:—Adjt. General No. Message dated 13th Sept. 1881.

In the above enquiry is made whether any reference has been received from the Home Department regarding the location of a Jat Co. of the 10th N.I. at Chunar—No such reference has come.

From the Distn. Return it appears there is a Co. of the 10th N.I. at Chunar. The Regt. has a Jat Co. but whether it is at Regtl. Head Qrs. at Benares or at Shillong, there is nothing in this office to shew—Shall the Home Department be asked whether there is any question under consideration in that Deptt. of the nature referred to in the Adjt. Genls' message.

Sd/—F.C.
13/9

Reply by telephone—No reference received from H.D. regarding Jat Coy. Chunar.

Sd/—J.D.
13/9

(Message to A.G. No. 1132-S/C dt. 14-9-81.)

From:—Adjutant General,

No. 4511-B, dated 20th September 1881.

Forwards the correspondence relating to the Jat Coy: of the 10th N.I. being sent to Chunar.

The reason why the question has been raised, is that the Jat Coy: at Benares is at present communicated by a Sikh Jamadar and there are several* Sikhs in its ranks, viz. 1 native officer, 1 Hauldar and 19 Sepoys, and the Officer Commanding at Chunar strongly objects to a Sikh—Detacht. being sent there, because in 1874 when a detacht. of the 13th N.I. was on duty at that station, some men who were Sikhs, carried on a clandestine communication with two Kooka prisoners confined in the Fort State Prison at Chunar. So long therefore as he is responsible for the safe custody of these prisoners, the Comdt. does not think it would be right to send a Sikh Coy. for duty at Chunar under the circumstances brought to notice.

*These men originally enlisted as Jats, and have become Sikhs—within the past few years.

The Genl. O/c Allahabad Divison however, is of opinion that the Jat Coy. of the 10th N.I. at Benares should be sent to Chunar and the A.G. accordingly asks whether there is any objection to its being detailed to where the present detachment at that station.

Sd/- C.D.N.
27/9/81

The Home Deptt. may be consulted.

Sd/- F.C.
27/9

This may be done ?

It should be pointed out that there is some confusion of classes in the correspondence as regards Jats and Jats (Sikhs ?).

The C.O. says he has a company of Jats commanded by a Jat Subadar. He says that in this company there are 21 Sikhs.

The annual caste return shows the Regiment to 99 Jat Sikhs and no Jats whether N.O., N.C.O. or privates.

This is corroborated by the return accompanying the Annual Confidt. Report.

If necessary the discrepancy might be brought to the notice of the A.G.

But, as far as the immediate question goes, it may be assumed that the C.O. is correct in stating he has a Jat company of which 21 are Sikhs.

Sd/-J.D.
28/9/81

Secry.

To Home Deptt. U.O.

Sd/-J.D.
29/9/81.

M.D.u.o.No. 96 dt. 29.9.81.

Please see Home Departments reply, below these notes—That Department is opposed to a Co. with Sikhs in it being sent to Chunar for duty.

Sd/-F.C.
10/10

For orders.
Draft submitted for approval
Sd/-J.D. 12.10.81

Secretary.

Approved by Secy.

17/10.

HOME DEPTT. INDIA

Unofficial reference from the Military Deptt. regarding the location of a Jat Coy. of the 10th N.I. at Chunar.

(Please see Military Department notes below.)

No reference has yet been received by us from the Commandant at Chunar on this subject. At the same time we might inform the Military Department that this Department concurs with the commandant that a Sikh Coy. should not be sent for duty to Chunar.

There are three Kuka state prisoners at present confined in the Chunar Fort, and it is essentially necessary that every precaution should be taken to prevent their corresponding with their people in the Punjab.

Sd/- Wings.
5/10/81.

The above is, I believe, correct. There scarcely seems any sufficient necessity for consulting the Local Govt. Sikhs should not be allowed to come into contact with these Kaka prisoners, who are perpetually trying to correspond with their adherents in the Punjab.

Sd/- J.G. 8/10.   Sd/- F.C.D. 5/10.   Secy. Sd/- J.M. 5/10.

No. 1369

Government of India.
Military Department.
Simla, the 19th Oct. 1881.

Distribution of Army.

To:—The Adjutant General in India.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

No. 4511-B, Native Army/Miscellaneous dated the 20th September 1881, submitting correspondence regarding the Jat Company of the 10th Native Infantry, in which there are a number of Sikhs, being detailed for garrison duty at Chunar, where some Kuka State prisoners are confined.

2. In reply, I am to state for the Commander in Chief's information, that so long as the Kuka prisoners are kept at Chunar, the Government of India consider it undesirable that any Sikh soldiers should be sent there for duty, as it is necessary that every precaution should be taken to prevent the prisoners corresponding with their adherents in the Punjab.

I am to add that there appears to be some confusion of classes in the correspondence as regards Jats and Sikhs. The Commanding Officer says that he has a Jat company, commanded by a Jat Subadar, and that in this company, there are 21 Sikhs. The annual caste return however, show (and this is corroborated by the caste return which accompanies the annual confidential reports) that the regiment has 99 Jat Sikhs and no Jats.

I am &ca.,
Sd/- G. Chesuee.
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN KUKA STATE PRISONERS AND THEIR RELATIVES

Correspondence between Man Singh and his wife Jiwani.

No. 1816.

Home Department.

Fort William, the 20th Dec. 1882.

To:—The Commandant, Chunar Garrison,

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 148 dated the 30th October last submitting a vernacular letter addressed to Man Singh, a Kuka prisoner at Chunar, I am directed to forward for delivery to Man Singh an English translation of the letter in question.

Sd/-
19/12.

Translation

On the cover :—

"To my husband Man Singh Kuka, a prisoner in the fort at Chunar, District Benares."

"Sender—Musammat Jiwani, wife of Man Singh Kuka of Siduki, Thana Nihal Singhwala, District Ferozpur. Dated 26th October 1882."

Body of letter :—

May it be known, after compliments on the part of Gur Bakhsh Singh and Musammat Jiwani, wife of Man Singh

to our brother and the one who is kind to us, (viz.) Man Singh—may God preserve him—that up to the moment of writing this all is right (with us), and we always pray for your welfare. Sundar Singh and Pakhar Singh are perfectly well. We have sufficient grain &ca., The out-turn of crops was good (this year), you should not feel anxious. You are perhaps aware of the death of Chatar Singh. The parents of his widow intend to remarry their daughter, and we are unable to dissuade them (from doing so). If you can do anything by existing influence with Government please do it, otherwise we have no power in this matter. All is well with Hukma Singh's family in Mauza Pathu. Your son, Sundar Singh has finished studying the "Granth Sahib". Pakhar and Sundar do not behave as I[1] wish, and on this account I am not satisfied with either of them. I will do as you will write to me. As they do not act in accordance with my wish, I find it difficult to bear with them (any longer). I am ready to come and will come if you can send for me. The widow of Jita Singh of Ghana the father-in-law of Musammat Ramee from whom you brought the more, which has died, is demanding payment of its price. Both my daughter, (the said) Musammat Ramee and Jita Singh, her father-in-law, have died, and now Jita Singh's widow is demanding the price (of the more). I leave the matter to you. I shall do as you will write. She is prepared to see (us in the Court). The head-members of the family of the father-in-law of Jita Singh, i.e. both the parents of Jita Singh's window have died, and the widow now lives with her grand father, who would not send her and states that as the boy (Jita Singh) has died he will not send her (to us). Pakhar Singh's wife has come home. Please send replies to (my) letter to Thana Nihal Singh Wala, District Firozpur, for, it is very inconvenient to go to and come from Muga, because it is 8 miles distant (from this place). It puts (us) to a great inconvenience to get information (about you), but having had no other course left us go to Muga. You should, without fail, send your letters to Thana Nihal Singh

* From this place onward the statement apoear to be made by Musammat Jiwani alone.

Wala. Compliments from Gur Bakhsh Singh and other members of the Traterity. Twice I presented papers at Lahore for your release, but I cannot get any reply, and so I am helpless (in the matter). If you write, arrangements will again be made for submission of papers &ca. My 3 letters (to you) remain unanswered as yet. I am not aware whether they reach you or not. Please reply and cause replies to be written soon.

Musammat Jiwani wife of Man Singh, inhabitant of Sidu Thana Nihal Singh Wala, Distt. Firozpur—dated 26th October 1882.

To

Man Singh Kuka of Sidu, a prisoner in the Chunar Fort, Distt. Benares.

Delivery of a letter from Kuka prisoner Man Singh to his wife.

No. 199-S

From:—W.M. Young, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To:—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.

Dated Simla, the 24th July 1886.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 698 dated the 27th May 1886, I am directed to forward for the information of the Government of India a copy of a letter No. 276 dated 8th July 1886, from the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Jullundur Division stating that the letter from Man Singh, Kuka prisoner to his wife, Mussammat Jiwani has been delivered to her son Sundar Singh, Mussammat Jiwani being said to be sick.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/-

for Secretary to Govt. Punjab.

Copy of a docket No. 276 dated 8th July 1886 from the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore, to the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Jullundur Division.

With reference to his No. 1995 dated 23rd ultimo, has the honor to report that the letter was delivered on the 6th instant to Sundar Singh, son of Mussammat Jiwani who was said to be sick.

Correspondence between Kuka State prisoner Rur Singh and his relatives in Punjab.

Confidential.

No. 529

From:—W. Mackworth Young, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To:—A. Mackenzie, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Dated Lahore, 6th March 1882.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1606 dated 21st December 1881, forwarding 3 letter addressed by the Kuka prisoner Rur Singh for delivery to Partab Singh, Hira Singh and Sewa Singh, and to submit an original letter addressed to Rur Singh by Hira Singh, in reply to his.

2. The letter to Partab Singh is returned as the man died at Amritsar during the fever epidemic last year. The letter to Sewa Singh has been forwarded to the Commissioner of Rawalpindi for delivery as it has been ascertained that Sewa Singh is employed as a carpenter on the Railway Works at that station.

3. A translation of the letter to Rur Singh is enclosed for the information of the Government of India.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- J.D. Canningham,
for Secretary to Government of Punjab.

No. 375

To:—The Chief Commanding of the Central Provinces.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 4455-242 dated the 8th December 1881, I am directed to forward an English translation of a letter from Hira Singh to the address of the Kuka prisoner Rur Singh and to request that unless you see any objection, it may be delivered to the addressee.

2. The letter from Rur Singh to the address of Partab Singh received with your letter under acknowledgement is herewith returned, as the addressee died at Amritsar last. year.

I have &ca.,
Sd/-

Translation of a letter from Hira Singh to Rur Singh.

After compliments—It is all well here, and I daily prey for your well—being—I have received your pleasing letter and understand the contents. You should apply to the Government for your release and inform me in detail about it, so that an application may be made to obtain your release. The Bhai Sahib and Baba Sahib (brother and grand father) are perfectly happy. Uttam Singh and Sewa Singh carry on their possession at Rawalpindi. Bibi Kaisi is in her house, and Partab Singh has died. Mehtab Singh and Khusal Singh offer their compliments (Fateh wah guru ji ki). All, young and old are doing well. Please always write letters to me until we see each other.

(True Translation)

(Sd.) A. Raynor,
Head Assistant.

JAIL REPORTS REGARDING KUKA STATE PRISONERS

Extract from a letter from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah No. 195/3-S.P., dated 8th February 1882.

KUKA STATE PRISONER RAM SINGH

In confinement in Mergui, his health has been good. He has been supplied with every comfort. His conduct has been bad during the first part of the past half year; he was frequently violent and insulting in his language to the Deputy Commissioner and to the Civil Medical Officer; latterly he has become more quiet. His follower Nanoo Singh was allowed to leave him and return to his native country during the past half year. Copy of a report by the Inspector General of Jails respecting Ram Singh is attached.

Ram Singh is detained on a warrant which, however, bears no endorsement. In regard to his case I am to solicit a reference to the correspondence ending with this office letter No. 3000 R.S. dated 4th May 1881.

Jowahir Singh

Lakha Singh

Brahma Singh

Confined in the Kyouktan Jail, Moulmein. They have been in good health and their conduct has been good. They have recently petitioned to be released or allowed greater liberty and their application has been separately submitted to the Government of India. The warrants under which these men are detained do not bear any endorsement.

Extract from a letter from the Chief Commissioner, British Burma to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 510-C.S.P. dated the 21st February 1884.

* * * *

Ram Singh is still detained at Mergui. His conduct during the past half year has been for the most part good. His health is also good.

Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh are confined in the Kyouktan jail at Moulmein. They have enjoyed good health and have conducted themselves well during the period of report. Their warrants bear no endorsements.

* * * *

Report regarding Kuka State Prisoners in British Burma for the half year ending 30th June 1884.

(Extract from a letter from the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department No. 221-6-S.P. (State Prisoners) dated Rangoon 11th August 1884.

* * * *

Para 3.

Of the Kuka prisoners the most important, Ram Singh, is kept in confinement at Mergui. His health during the past year has been fairly good and his conduct much better than usual. Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh, who are detained at Kyouktan near Moulmein, have enjoyed good health and conducted themselves well during the period of report.

* * * *

SERIAL Nos. 21-29.

I. The Kuka prisoners, Serial Nos. 21-28, are detained under warrants according to Bengal Regulation III of 1818 issued by the Home Department. The following note has been received from that Department, and contains information about the prisoners.

The history of the Kuka outbreak in 1872 is too well known to need any recapitulation here.

On the suppression of the outbreak and on the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the following Kuka leaders who were concerned in the outbreak were immediately on arrrest forwarded to Allahabad for confinement :—

1. Ram Singh.
2. Sahib Singh.
3. Rur Singh.
4. Lakha Singh.
5. Kahn Singh.
6. Brahma Singh.
7. Jawahir Singh.
8. Maluk Singh.
9. Man Singh.
10. Hukma Singh.
11. Pahara Singh.
12. Sardar Mungal Singh.

In March 1872, Ram Singh was sent to British Burma, as it was considered that he could not be kept in safety and be prevented from communicating with his adherents while on the continent of India.

In August 1872, the Punjab Government was asked for an opinion as to whether the prisoners, or any of them, should not be brought to trial for specific offences rather than be kept in confinement as political prisoners. The Lieutenant Governor was opposed to their being put on trial, and preferred their confinement as political prisoners. His Honor added as follows :—

"As a matter of equity these men deserve no sympathy, and the evidence, whatever the opinion of the Courts of Law, is overwhelming against them. For years they have preached sedition and intrigued against the Government. Yet no vindictive measures are desired, and when all danger from the Kuka sect has passed away, and when the Government with due consideration for the public safety can decide that the

List of State Prisoners in British India and Burma
October 1883

Serial No.	Name	Authority for detention.	Cause of detention.	Approximate age.	Place and nature of detention.	Local Government or Administration.	Date of commencement of detention.	Term of detention.	Allowances (Payable by the British Government unless the contrary is specified).	Remarks.
21.	Rur Singh	Regulation III of 1818.	Complicity in Kuka rebellion.	52 years	Fortress of Asirgarh under moderate restraint.	Central Provinces	22nd Jan. 1872	During the pleasure of Government.	About Rs. 30 per mensem.	
22.	Maluk Singh	Ditto	Ditto	50 years	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Do.	Ditto	
23.	Ram Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Not known	Mergui, in confinement.	British Burma	Ditto	Do.	Not known.	
24.	Lakha Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Do.	Moulmein, confined in the Kyouktan jail.	Ditto	Ditto	Do.	12 annas per diem.	
25.	Brahma Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Do.	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Do.	Ditto	
26.	Man Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Do.	Chunar fort, in the state prison.	N.W P. Government.	Ditto	Do.	Rs. 85-5 per mensem for the three men.	
27.	Hukma Singh	Ditto	Ditto	Do.	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Do.		
28.	Kahn Singh	Ditto	Ditto	72 years	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Do.		
29.	Gurcharan Singh	Ditto	Kuka intrigues	66 years	Multan, under surveillance.	Punjab	23rd May 1881	Do.	Rs. 12 per mensem.	

leaders should be released, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor will be quite prepared to submit a recommendation to such effect to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council."

The Government of India acceded to the Lieutenant-Governor's wishes, and as the Allahabad fort was not considered a suitable place for their confinement, they were sent to different places.

In March 1876, the Punjab Government was asked whether, in the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor any of the Kuka State prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818 should be released.

In reply it was stated that :—

"Sir Henry Davies, from a general consideration of the case as regards the Kukas, and from a certain activity which is now manifest among the sect, is of opinion that it is unadvisable at the present time to permit the return of any of the prisoners to the Punjab."

This opinion was accepted by the Government of India.

It will thus be seen that the Kuka prisoners are detained in confinement during the pleasure of Government for their complicity in the outbreak of 1872, and that on only one occasion their release was considered, and was then negatived.

Of the twelve men confined, one, Sardar Mungal Singh, was subsequently released at the request of the Maharaja of Patiala, and three have since died.[1]

The Kuka prisoners now in confinement and their places of confinement are as follows :—

Prisoners	Place
Rur Singh Maluk Singh	Asirgarh.
Lakha Singh Brahma Singh	Moulmein.
Man Singh Hukma Singh Kahn Singh	Chunar.

Ram Singh, Mergui.

1. Sahib Singh, Jawahir Singh and Pahara Singh—Compiler.

II. The remaining Kuka prisoner, Gurcharan Singh (Serial No. 29), is detained under a warrant issued by the Foreign Department on the 23rd May 1881. A full account of him is given in Proceedings Secret, January 1882, No. 569. There was strong evidence that he had been a medium of intrigues between Central Asia and Kukas in India, notably the prisoner, Ram Singh, at Mergui. His detention for such period as might suffice to sever his connection with intrigues was sanctioned in Foreign Department No. 1087 E.P., dated the 23rd May 1881. The nature of his detention was left to the Punjab Government. A report of the 1st March 1883 stated that Gurcharan Singh was living quietly at Multan, under close police surveillance, and that security for his good behaviour had been furnished by two natives of the Gujranwalla District.

6-5-83. (Sd/-) J.A.C.

SECRETARY

The Kukas are still active. We have reason to believe that Gurcharan Singh has lately been intriguing with the Russians.

29-7-83. (Sd/-) J.W.B.

Yes, and we also know that there is a good deal of excitement among them this year, which is somehow signalised in their prophecies.

9-8-83. (Sd/-) C.G.
11-8-83. (Sd/-) R.

DEATH REPORTS OF KUKA STATE PRISONERS

Death of Kuka prisoner Pahara Singh in Asirgarh Fort.

No. 947/48

Chief Commissioner's Office,
Central Provinces.

From:—Lindsay Neill, Esqre., C.S. Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Central Provinces.

To :— The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Dated Nagpur, the 20th of March 1882.

Sir,

With reference to correspondence ending with my letter No. 148/8 dated 13th January last, reporting regarding the persons confined in the Asirgarh Fort, under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818, I am directed to report the death on the 2nd instant, of Pahara Singh one of the Kuka prisoners.

2. The casualty report by the Garrison Surgeon countersigned by the Commandant of Asirgarh is annexed in original from which it will be seen that Pahara Singh died of Brights disease. In the age column the Surgeon estimates the age of the deceased at about 58, whereas in the last return, the entry was 52 years.

I have & ca.,
(Sd/-) L. Neill,
Offg. Secretary.

Garrison staff and details—Hospital casualty report—Asirgarh, 2nd March 1882.

No.	Name	Age about	Caste	Sex	Disease	Date of admission	Date of death	Re-marks
State Prisoner	Pahara Singh	Years 58	Hindu Sikh.	Male	Acute nephutis	20th Feb. 1882.	2nd March 1882.	Died at 5 A.M. out of Hospital

(Sd/-) G.T. Moore, Call.
Commandant Asirgarh.

Sd/- C.F. Willis, M.B., Surgeon,
In charge Garrison Staff
and Details.

No. 263-J.P.

From:—The Assistant Secretary to the Government of India.

To:—The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

Dated Simla, the 3rd May 1882.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 947/48 dated the 20th March 1882, reporting the death on the 2nd item, of Pahara Singh, one of the Kuka prisoners confined in the Asirgarh Fort under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

2. I am to request that the Warrant which was issued by the Home Department for Pahara Singh's detention, may be duly endorsed and returned to that Department.

I have &ca.,
(Sd/-) A. Martindale,
Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Warrant of late Kuka Prisoner Pahara Singh cancelled.

No. 2169 of 1882.
Political Department,
Bombay Castle, 6th May 1882,

From:—The Hon'ble J.B. Peile, C.S.I., Ag. Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

To:—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir,

As requested in Mr. Under Secretary Daukes' letter No. 480, dated the 8th ultimo, I am directed to return herewith

the Warrant under which the late Kuka State Prisoner Pahara Singh was detained in the Asirgarh Fortress.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd/-) B. Peile,
Ag : Chief Secretary to Government

Warrant
No. 52

To :—The Officer in Command, Assergarh.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Pahara Singh, shall be placed under personal restraint Assergarh you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in comformity to the orders of Governor General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council.

Sd/- H. D.

Simla, 31st Oct. 1872. Offg. Secy. to Govt.

Death of Kuka State prisoner Jowahir Singh and Rur Singh.

No. 525.

The 30th Nov. 1882.

To:—The Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India in the Home Dept., Simla.

The undersigned, has the honor to return herewith the Warrant of Kuka Prisoner No. 1424 Jowahir Singh died in

the Kyinktan Outpost Jail of General. Debility and old age on the 29th instant and requests an acknowledgement of the same.

Sd/- Chas. V.L. Foster
Superintendent,
Moulmein Jail.

No. 53.

To :—The Officer in Charge of the Moulmein Jail.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has been fit to determine that Jowahir Singh shall be placed under peronal restraint in the Moulmein Jail, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

Sd/- H.L. Dampier
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India in
the Home Dept.

Simla,
The 31st October, 1872.

Kuka Prisoner No. 1424 Jowahir Singh herein mentioned, died in the Kyinktan Outpost Jail of General Debility and old age on the 29th November 1882. This Warrant is therefore returned to the Committing Court.

Witness my hand and office seal.

Sd/- Chas. V.L. Foster
Supdt. Central Jail,
Moulmein.

Home Department, Judicial, dated Fort William, the 16th Dec. 1882.

No. 1791.

To :—The Secretary to Govt., Punjab.

Sir,

I am directed to state for the information of His Honor the Lieutt. Govr. that the Supt. of the Moulmein Jail reports the death, on the 29th Novr. 1882, of Kuka prisoner Jawahir Singh, who was confined in the Moulmein Jail, under a warrant issued by the G.G. in Council on the 31st Octr. 1872, in accordance with the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

I have & c.
Sd/-

No. 18
(State Prisoners)

From :—E.S. Symes, Esquire, C.S., Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, and Officer-in-Charge of State Prisoners.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.
Dated Rangoon, 4th January 1884.

Sir,

I am directed to submit for the information of the Government of India that Jowahir Singh, one of the Kuka State prisoners, died on the 29th November. The cause of his death was general debility and old age.

2. Jowahir Singh was one of three Kuka prisoners deported to Burma in 1872. He arrived on 30th December of that year; and was confined in the Kyonktan jail at Moulmein, under warrant No. 53 dated 31st October 1872 issued by the authority of the Governor General in Council under Regulation III of 1818, a copy of which was forwarded to the Chief Commissioner with Home Department (Judicial) letter No. 2005 of the above date. He remained in confinement at Moulmein until his death. His conduct was uniformly good, and up

to the time of the submission of the last half-yealy report on the state prisoners his health was fair. An allowance of twelve annas a day was granted by Government for his support. The original warrant, under which Jowahir Singh was confined, has been forwarded to you by the Superintendent of the jail direct.

I have the honor to be,
Sd/- E.S. Symes,
Officiating Secretary and Officer-in-charge of State Prisoners.

Warrant of Kuka prisoner Rur Singh deceased.

No. 6943 of 1884.

Political Department,
Bombay Castle, 23rd December 1884.

From :—The Hon'ble J.B. Richey, C.S.I., Ag. Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.

Sir,

As requested in M. Dauke's letter No. 1450, dated 2nd Instant, I am directed to forward herewith the Warrant under which State Prisoner Rur Singh was detained in the Asirgarh Fortress.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant
Sd/-
Ag. Chief Secretary to Government.

CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE DEATH OF GURU RAM SINGH

Controversy about the death of Guru Ram Singh

No. 218-14 S.P.

British Burma
Foreign Department
(State Prisoners).

From :—E.S. Symes, Esq., C.S.,
Offg. Secy. to the Chief Commr. British Burma

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India.
Foreign Department.

Dated Rangoon, the 10th December 1885.

Sir,

In continuation of my telegram (No. 4000-I dated 9th instant) ? I am directed to submit a copy of the report of Civil Surgeon, Mergui, concerning the death of State Prisoner Ram Singh.

I have & ca.
Sd/- E. S. Symes
Offg. Secretary.

From the Civil Surgeon, Mergui, to the Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, No. 99, dated the 29th November, 1885.

I beg to report to you upon the death of State prisoner Ram Singh, which event has taken place just this moment 4.30 P.M. The man has been in a decline sometime past, and with the setting in of the cold weather, he has had another attack of Diarrhoea and he complained of the change very much.

Another blanket was purchased and added to the other two he possessed already.

The last attack of Diarrhoea set in on the 2nd instant and all endeavours to induce him to take medicine having proved abortive, he was treated with small doses of opium, which he took readily, his diet was carefully regulated and nourishment kept up at stated intervals, his constitution already broken from old age, frequent attacks of Diarrhoea off and on since the rains of 1883, an attack of General dropsy at the early part of the current year, and from General Debility he succumbed to the present attack and died quiet exhausted at 4.30 P.M. in my presence while nursing him in (my own ?) apartment in the presence of the 1st Class Warder (in charge of the Jail Guard) Mug Doon Bux and his attendant convict Somaly.

2. I beg also to report to you that I have arranged for the cremation of the body at about 8 O'Clock tomorrow morning and that I shall be present at the burial place early to see to the necessary arrangements being completed for the burning according to the Hindu custom.

30th November '85—10 a.m.

P.S. I beg to add that the body was cremated this morning, the cremation was commenced at quarter to eight and it was completed by 5 minutes after nine, and that the ashes will be collected at the Crematory when it is quite cooled down, placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited into the river according to the Hindu Custom. This proceeding will, it is said, take place on the morning of the 2nd December when I shall also be present to see it carried out.

Foreign Deptt.—No. 463/14—S.P.
(State prisoners)

From :—E.G. Symes, Esquire, C.S., Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

To:—The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Dated Rangoon, the 18th December, 1885.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 218/14—S. P. dated 10th instant, I am directed to submit a further report from the Civil Surgeon, Mergui, regarding the cremation of the body of the late State Prisoner Ram Singh.

I have &ca.,
(Sd.) E.S. Jymes,
Offg. Secretary.

Report of the Civil Surgeon, Mergui, dated 2nd December, 1885.

The ashes were collected and cast into the river in my presence this morning. **The cremation and casting of the remains into the river were done very quietly.**

The men selected to perform these offices were two convicts (one of them the attendent, a Brahmin and the other a Hindoo) and two warders of the 'Brahmin caste belonging to the Jail guard.

TELEGRAM

Local No. 8586

To : Calcutta From : Rangoon

Words	Days	Hrs.	Min.	Defd.
65.7	8	13	52	B.B.

To : Foreign

From : B.B.

Ram Singh Kooka State Prisoner died at Mergui of old age, Diarrhoea and general debility on the 29th noon. His remains

were burnt according to Hindoo custom. Next morning his ashes were to be collected, placed in jar and deposited in river. This latter ceremoney was to take place on 2nd December after the mail Steamer left. Letter follows.

CALCUTTA 8.12.85

Controversy about the death of Guru Ram Singh.

Compiler's Note

The subject of Guru Ram Singh's death is a controversial one.

According to the Civil Surgeon's report from Mergui, Guru Ram Singh died on 29th November 1885 from an attack of Diarrhoea and "the body was cremated next morning and the ashes were collected in a new earthen vessel and cast into the river."

Kuka circles immediately refused to believe on this death report because Guru Ram Singh's so-called belongings, handed over to his brother Guru Hari Singh, were not genuine. In a meeting with A.S. Guru Hari Singh told that "he believed his brother Ram Singh to be alived but he had been removed from Rangoon to other place."

Sir Charles Bernard, Chief Commissioner of British Burma, in a letter dated 23rd August 1886, informed Sardar Atar Singh of Bhadaur that "Ram Singh, Kuka, is going to be transferred to a more remote spot, where communication with him will be less easy.[1] This information, from the highest authority of the British Burma, contradicts the Civil Surgeon's 'death report'. Moreover, Jail Report Statement No. XVI—Vital, showing the deaths of convicts in the jails and subsidiary jails of British Burma, during the year 1885, does not list any death at Mergui due to "Dysentery and Diarrhoea." The column No. I in the proforma has been kept blank, (see Photostat Copy).

Suba Kahn Singh, Kuka State prisoner released from Chunar Fort in 1888, was reported by the Punjab Special

1. *Political Suggestions, Information and other Services of Sardar Sir Atar Singh, K.C.I.E., Chief of Bhadaur*, p. 25.

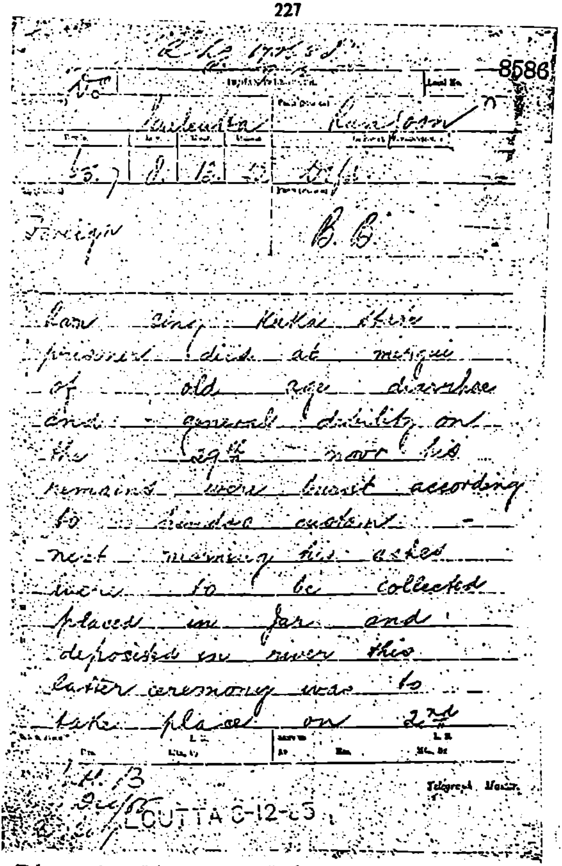
Branch telling the Kukas that "Guru Ram Singh is alive and will soon return."

It can, therefore, be concluded that Guru Ram Singh did not expire; on 29th November 1885. Either he was transferred to a 'more remote spot' as intimated by the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, or disappeared quitely from the prison.

Jaswinder Singh

Letter from Sir Charles Bernard (Chief Commissioner, British Burma), to Sardar Atar Singh of Bhadaur, dated 23rd Aug. 1886.

In reply to his letter, informs him that "Ram Singh, Kuka, is going to be transferred to a more remote spot, where communication with him will be less easy." Adds some information regarding a Persian spy referred to by the addressee.



8586

Rangoon

Foreign

B. B.

[illegible] prisoner died at [illegible] of old age diarrhoea and general debility on the 29th Novr his remains were burnt according to Hindoo custom next morning his ashes were to be collected placed in jar and deposited in river this latter ceremony was to take place on 2nd

Telegraph Master.

CALCUTTA 8-12-85

Telegram dated 8th December 1885 from Rangoon, British Burma.
curtesy : National Archives of India)

INDIAN TELEGRAPH.

II

december after the mail steamer left letter follows

[illegible]

Date

LCUTTA 8-12-95

Telegraph Mark

Statement No. XVI.—Vital.

Showing the Admissions and Deaths from the Chief Diseases among the Convicts in the Jails and Subsidiary Jails of British Burma during the year 1885.

Jails.	A Small-pox. A.	A Small-pox. D.	B Intermittent fever. A.	B D.	C Remittent and continued fever. A.	C D.	D Other fevers. A.	D D.	E Cholera. A.	E D.	F Scrofula and phthisis pulmonalis. A.	F D.	G Anaemia and general debility. A.	G D.	H Respiratory diseases. A.	H D.	I Dysentery and diarrhoea. A.	I D.	J Jaundice. A.	J D.	K Ulcers and boils. A.	K D.	Ratio per mille of average strength: Intermittent fever A.	D.	Remittent and continued fever A.	D.	Cholera A.	D.	Dysentery and diarrhoea A.	D.
Akyab	...	...	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	[illegible]	10	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	5	...	216.30	...	...	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kyaukpyu	...	...	32	...	...	...	1	...	6	2	1	1	14	3	3	...	63	14	...	...	7	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	0.35	0.35	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sandoway	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	...	111.11	...
Rangoon, Natives	1	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	5	2	3	10	16	2	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	16	6	2	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	1.11	1.45	1.45	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rangoon, Europeans	...	...	9	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	1	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	[illegible]	...
Ma-ubin	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	9	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	[illegible]	...
Bassein	...	...	61	3	...	...	...	...	63	[illegible]	2	...	[illegible]	3	4	1	[illegible]	7	...	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Henzada	...	...	6	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	9	...	8	...	...	...	8	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	[illegible]	...
Myanaung	...	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	7	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
Thayetmyo	19	6	31	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	[illegible]	1	5	1	16	...	6	...	11	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	[illegible]	...
Moulmein	1	...	[illegible]	2	7	2	5	2	2	2	2	3	[illegible]	14	31	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	1.35	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.35	1.35	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tavoy	...	...	...	...	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	3	...	...	8	3	...	...	5	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mergui	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Toungoo	1	...	[illegible]	...	1	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	...	19	1	8	1	[illegible]	1	1	...	8	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shwegyin	...	...	33	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	...	11	1	...	...	6	...	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	15	6	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	5	5	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	15	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	9	1,011	[illegible]	[illegible]	8	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Jail Report 1885, Statement

RELEASE OF KUKA STATE PRISONERS

Release of Kuka State Prisoner : Sardar Mungal Singh.

To :—The Secretary of the Govt. of India,
Home Department.

The humble petition of Mungal Singh, a State Prisoner in the Fortress of Allahabad.

Most earnestly and respectfully prays that you will be graciously pleased to lay the accompanying two petitions before His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India for his kind consideration and orders.

And your poor Petitioner as in duty
bound will ever pray &c.
Sd/- (In Gurmukhi)

To :— The Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.,
Simla.

Sir,

Will you be so kind as to inform me whether any order has been passed by His Excellency the Viceroy, upon the petition of Mungal Singh, a prisoner in the Fort at Allahabad, for being concerned in the late Kooka outbreak in the Punjab, and oblige.

Yours very faithfully,
Sd/- Chas. C. Dillon, LLB.
Barrister at Law.

10th October 1872

Simla,
11th October, 1872.

My dear Dampier,

I return you your file regarding the Kuka prisoners at Allahabad as it was sent to me. I have sent a copy of Mungal Singh's petition to the Maharaja of Patiala with a private note and intimated that if he wished to make any communication on the subject this could be done personally to His Excellency at Ambala.

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/-

File Note

It was decided in Council that these prisoners are not to be brought to trial. Perhaps the Punjab Govt. should be told that in accordance with the views expressed by the L.G. the G.G. will not direct them to be brought to trial.

As to the place of confinement of the prisoners :

Allahabad jail has been pronounced unsafe. Allahabad Fort too hot for health.

Chunar is available and so is the building at Asergarh which was formerly used as a Civil Jail and which has now lately been made over to the Commissariat.

The G.G. suggested that they should be divided and some sent to Aden.

The orders of the Hon'ble Member were to be taken.

Sd/-
2/10.

I see that I have already suggested that six men should be sent out of India. Of these I think three might very well go to Aden. Moulmein would be a good place for the other three.

I would send :—

Mungal Singh, Sahib Singh, Kahn Singh to Aden.
Jowahir Singh, Lukka Singh, Brahm Singh to Moulmein.
Rur Singh, Maluk Singh, Pahara Singh to Asseergarh.
The rest to Chunar.[1]

Notes in the Margin

Send Cypher Telegram to Bombay asking if accommodation can be provided accordingly at Aden and Assergarh and when, so to Mr. Edee as to Moulmein and to N.W.P. or to Chunar.

Sd/- E.C.B.

In the Margin

Send Lt. Govr : request him to communicate with the Maharaja of Patiala, showing him this petition. If he has any communication to make, he can communicate with me personally at Ambala—I am not supposed to place confidence in a man who is so ready to change his creed.

Sd/-
No. 10/9

Abstract :

Prays that he may be released, and states that he is prepared to pledge all his property moveable and immoveable for his future good behaviour, and that he will also assist the Govt. in every way in his power to put down Kukaism.

Mungal Singh is a worthless scoundrel, who will I fear be ready to become Kuka, Sikh, Mahmudee Khan or anything else to serve his own ends and who will always be a mischievous man to be watched in all times of excitement.

Sd/- E.C.B.

---

1. Man Singh and Hukma Singh—Compiler.

No. 1954.

Home Department, Judl.
Simla, 23rd October, 1872.

To :—C.C. Dillon, Esq., LL.D.

Sir,

In reply to your letter dated the 10th instant, I am directed to inform you that the Petition of Mungal Singh has been referred to the Govt. of the Punjab, and that final orders thereon will be passed when the views of the Govt. are communicated to the G.G. in Cl.

I have &ca.
Sd/-

My dear Dampier,

Please issue the preliminary enquiry already ordered in this case, but do not mention the name of any prisoners at present. Nothing is to be actually done as to Mungal Singh, and the orders as to the other prisoners should be carried out at once or at any rate put in train.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- E.C.B.
14/10.

On about the enquiry from Adv. Genl. as to whether we can properly detain Mungal Singh but do not use names. Explain that the question refers to a subject of Patiala who was arrested by Patiala and made over to us and we consider him a person when under Mutiny of the act it is necessary to detain. Use words of act.

Sd/-

Home Department, Judl. No. 1984.
Simla, 28th Oct. 72.

To :—The Advocate Genl.

Sir,

I am directed to request that you will be good enough to favour the G.G. in-Cl. with you opinion on the question whether the Govt. can legally detain as a State Prisoner under the provisions of Regn. III of 1818 and Act 34 of 1850 an individual who is not a British subject.

2. The question refers to a subject of a native State who was arrested by the authorities of that State and made over to the British Government as being connected with Schemes to overthrow its supremacy. The individual is a person whom the G.G. in Cl. considers necessary to place under personal restraint under the terms of the laws above cited.

I have &ca.,
Sd/-

From :—G.C. Paul, Esq.,
Officiating Advocate General.

To :—H. Wellesley, Esqr.,
Officiating Under Secretary to the
Government of India.

Calcutta, 18th November 1872.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter (No. 1984) dated 28th October last and in answer beg to state that I am of opinion that the Governor General in Council cannot legally detain under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 and Act 34 of 1850 an individual, not being a British subject but the subject of a Native State, arrested by the authorities of such Native State presumably within its territories, as connected with schemes calculated to overthrow its supremacy. The preamble of Regulation

III of 1818 exhibits the cases contemplated by that Regulation namely the placing of individuals under personal restraint against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute a judicial proceeding or when such proceeding may not be adopted to the nature of the case or may for other reasons be unadvisable and improper. It follows that restraint may be imposed under this Regulation upon individuals against whom judicial proceedings might be taken if there exist sufficient ground or evidence or reason for doing so. A subject of a Native State guilty of some act, falling under the terms of the above Regulation, committed by him within the territories of such Native State is obviously not an individual against whom judicial proceedings can be instituted in British India. The sequence from this want of Criminal Jurisdiction is that such an individual as is last described cannot be put under personal restraint by the Governor General in Council.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- G.C. Paul
Offg. Advocate General.

To:—H. Wellesley, Esqre.,
Offg. Under Secy. to Govt. of India,
Home Department.

Mungal Singh

Sir,

I write again to know whether any orders have been passed in the case of Mungal Singh, a prisoner in Allahabad, on suspicion of being concerned in the late Kooka riots in the Punjab.

My client's health is far from good, otherwise I should be disposed to await patiently the pleasure of Govt.—as it is—

anxiety and ill-health may do their work before definite orders are passed.

I am Sir,
Your Obedt. Servant,
Sd/- Chas : C. Dillon, LL.D.,
Barrister at Law.

Allahabad,
18th Decr. 1872.

Home Department, Confidential No. 301.
Fort William, the 6th Feby. 1873.

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 2217, dated the 24th June, and subsequent communications, I am directed to inform you that as Sirdar Mungal Singh was made over to the Punjab Govt. by the Maharajah of Patiala, and that, as it is on the recommendation and at the request of this Chief that his release has been approved by the Govt., the Govr. Genl. in Cl. is of opinion that the release of Sirdar Mungal Singh should be made by the Maharajah. His Excellency in Council therefore requests that His Honor the Lt. Govr. will be good enough to make arrangements for the removal of the Sirdar on the 1st March next, from Allahabad to Rajpura, which is situated in the Maharajah of Patiala's territory. In accordance with arrangements which should be previously made with the Maharajah, the Sirdar should then be made over to the officials whom His Highness may have appointed to receive him.

2. His Highness the Maharajah should be informed that His Excellency expects him to watch the movements of the Sirdar after his release and to ensure his abstinence from all political intrigue.

3. His Honor will cause it to be distinctly explained to the Sirdar that he owes his release entirely to the intercession of

the Maharajah, and that the G.G. in Cl. has charged His Highness with the duty of keeping a watch on the Sirdar's future actions, and of taking every precaution which may be necessary to prevent his taking any part in political movements.

4. The Maharajah should be informed that such a communication has been made to the Sirdar.

I have &c.,
Sd/- H. L. Dampier
6/2/73

Confidential, No. 68C.

From :—Lepel Griffin, Esquire,
Offg. Secretary to Govt. Punjab.

To :—H.L. Dampier Esquire,
Offg. Secretary to Govt. of India,
Home Department.

Dated : Camp, 15th Feby. 73.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 301 dated 6th instant on the subject of the release of Sardar Mungal Singh, I am to state that arrangements will be made in accordance with the wishes of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, and to request that the Government of the North West Provinces may be advised to deliver on the 1st March next the said Sardar Mungal Singh into the custody of the Police officials of the Punjab, who will be coming down to Allahabad for that purpose.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

Sd/-
for Offg. Secy. to Govt. Punjab.

Home Deptt. Judl. Confidential, No. 408.
The 21st Feb. 1873.

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of N.W. Provinces.

Sir,

I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter from the Govt. of the Punjab, No. 68 dated the 15th instt., and to request that His Honor the Lieut. Govr. will be good enough to issue orders for the delivery on the 1st Proximo of Sardar Mungal Singh with the custody of the officers of the Punjab Police who may be deputed to Allahabad to take charge of him.

I have &ca.,
Sd/- E.C.B.

To

The Secretary to the Govt. of India,
Home Department,
Govt. of India.

Sir,

I addressed a letter to you more than two months ago on the subject of Mungal Singh, a prisoner in Allahabad for being concerned in the Kooka riots in the Punjab last year, but have as yet received no reply. The unfortunate man is ill and has been ill ever since his confinement, mainly owing to anxiety, and I think it would go far towards his recovery, if he were made acquainted with the ultimate intentions of Govt. regarding himself.

Hoping to receive an early reply.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Chas. C. Dillon, LL.D.
Barrister at Law.

Allahabad
25-2-73.

No. 5.

Home Department, Confdl.
Fort William, 10th March 1873.

To

C.C. Dillon, Esq., LL.D.,
Barrister at Law,
Allahabad.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 25th ultimo, and in reply to state that Sardar Mungal Singh has been duly informed of the intentions of the Govt. regarding himself.

I have &ca.,
Sd/-

No. 867.

From

T.H. Thornton, Esq., D.C.L.,
Secretary to Govt., Punjab.

To

C.U. Aitchison, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

Dated Murree, 7th July, 1873.

Sir,

I am desired to forward for the information of the Supreme Government, copy of extract from the Diary of the District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, for the week ending the 14th June 1873, reporting the performance of the Ceremony of "Pahal" in other words, a recantation of Kuka tenets, by Sardar Mungal Singh, a Suba of the Kuka sect.

I have &ca.,
Sd/- T.H. Thornton
Secretary to Govt. Punjab.

(Extract from Diary of District Superintendent Police, Amritsar for week ending 14th June '73.)

14th June—Sardar Mungal Singh, a Suba of Kukas, lately returned from Allahabad, took the "Pahal" at the Akal Bunga, thus becoming a true Sikh.

Sd/- F.W. Pocock
Asstt. Supdt., Punjab Sectt.

Release of Kuka State Prisoner Maluk Singh

No. 227, dated the 10th June 1886.

From
The Deputy Commissioner, Firozpur.
To
The Commissioner and Superintendent, Jullundur Division.

With reference to his No. 1749, dated 2nd instant, forwards copy of a memorandum from the District Superintendent of Police, Firozpur, and states that undersigned also sees no reason why Maluk Singh, a Kuka prisoner, should not return to his home.

Dated the 9th June 1886.

Memo From
The District Superintendent of Police, Firozpur.
To
The Deputy Commissioner, Firozpur.

These men were present at Maler Kotla and were captured by Mr. Cowan in 1872, and were at that time deported by Government. I have perused Major Wall's report and see no reason why Maluk Singh should not now be permitted to return to his home.

No. 1941, dated the 18th June 1886.

From

The Commissioner and Superintendent,
Jullundur Division.

To

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

In reply to your No. 984, dated 27th ultimo, I have the honour to enclose copies of the opinions expressed by the Deputy Commissioner and District Superintendent of Police of Firozpur as to the return of Maluk Singh Kuka.

2. These officers see no objection to the prisoner's return, and as I am not personally aware of the man's disposition and character, I can only say that apart from the general objection to the reversal of a sentence deliberately arrived at some years ago, I have no very strong reasons to urge against the prisoner's return if he has borne a good character since transportation.

Proposal to release Maluk Singh, a Kuka, State Prisoner at present confined in the Asirgarh Fort.

From Government of Punjab—No. 286s., dated 13th August 1886.

The Punjab Government recommends the release of Maluk Singh, a Kuka Suba (leader) now confined in the Asirgarh Fort as a political prisoner.

2. The Kuka sect was founded in the year 1847 by a Sikh named Baluk Singh in the Rawalpindi District. He died in January 1863, and one of his disciples, Ram Singh of Bhaini, a village in the Ludhiana District, became the acknowledged Guru, or head. The sect under Baluk Singh, and at first under Ram Singh, was a purely religious one, but subsequently assumed a political character, with the ultimate object of subverting the existing Government, and of establishing Ram Singh's own political and religious supremacy.

3. Maluk Singh became a Kuka in 1864, and after two years was made a subbha. In February 1869, a band of some 50 Kukas, having collected the goods and cash into a common store at Maluk Singh's village, proceeded to Tirajpur, a village on the borders of Sirsa, and there declared the English rule at an end, and that of the Khalsa commenced. Maluk Singh was of the party, but on the arrival on the third day of two English officers with a party of police, they were induced to disperse. Maluk Singh, who found his authority usurped by one Mastan Singh, assisted in bringing about this result. The case was tried as one of riot under orders from the Local Government, and Maluk Singh got off with a warning.

On the night of the 14th June 1871 a murderous attack was made by an armed gang on certain butchers in a slaughterhouse near the city of Amritsar. About a month after a similar outrage was committed in a village called Raikot in the Ludhiana District. The culprits in both these cases were members of the Kuka sect; and it appeared from the evidence in connection with the Amritsar case that several of the men concerned had been induced to join in the attack from fear of offending Ram Singh.

4. In January 1872, the Malodh Fort, 20 miles south of Ludhiana, and Maler Kotla were attacked by Kukas in considerable numbers. Ram Singh and the Kuka Subhas, named in the Margin*, were thereupon arrested. As there was ample evidence on record to warrant the continued detention of Ram Singh, and to show that his release would be dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of the country, he was deported to British Burma to be confined as a State prisoner. As regards the others, who had in the meantime been despatched to Allahabad, the Government of India, in order that it might be in possession of full and sufficient evidence to support, if necessary, the detention of Ram Singh's Subhas

*(1) Sahib Singh,
(2) Rur Singh,
(3) Lakha Singh,
(4) Kahn Singh,
(5) Brahma Singh,
(6) Jowahir Singh,
(7) Maluk Singh,
(8) Man Singh,
(9) Hukma Singh,
(10) Pahara Singh,
(11) Sardar Mungal Singh

"after the excitement immediately arising out of the recent occurrences in the Umbala Division has passed away," ordered that all the evidence existing in any shape should be collected, and, after being reduced to writing, should be placed in the hands of an officer of sufficient judicial experience, who should make a summary of the evidence in each man's case, and should also express his opinion as to the degree of guilt attaching to each, and the expediency or otherwise of releasing him. The Local Government was further asked to express an opinion with reference to the evidence and to the position of each individual and his influence, whether he should be released at once or detained; and, if detained, for how long a period.

5. The desired report (by Mr. James Macnabb, C.S.) was submitted in June 1872. It appeared that almost all the prisoners had preached sedition, and that all of them, except Sardar Mungal Singh, had been in conclave at Bhaini[1] on the 11th and 12th January 1872, and had approved of an attack being made on Malodh with the object of procuring arms in order to enable the Kukas to carry on their operations against British possessions and the allied Sikh States.

In the summary of evidence in the case of Maluk Singh besides making a reference to the incident of February 1869, Mr. Macnabb briefly mentioned the purport of the police reports regarding the man, and of depositions taken by the Ludhiana and Ferozepore authorities. The Deputy Inspector General of Police. Umbala Circle, spoke of Maluk Singh as follows :—

"The whole Kuka fraternity respect and trust him. He has been a successful propagandist, though it is said he himself did not make converts, but brought enquirers to Ram Singh."

According to District Superintendent, Ferozepore :—"A noted Sabha at one time; latterly not much thought of. He was

1. On the occasion of a fair, "Lohri Mela," which took place on the 11th January 1872.

In his statement before Mr. Macnabb. Maluk Singh admitted having been present at the mela, adding that "he left the night of the Mela."

released, as he had not taken an active part in the riot (February 1869) : so he is not on police books for anything bad." In the depositions taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, Maluk Singh was spoken of, in common with the other prisoners, as having preached sedition; but out of four men examined at Ferozepore (Maluk Singh's native district), only one* deposed to the fact of Maluk Singh having said, at the time of the Tirajpur disturbance, that "the English rule would soon come to an end, and he would then become a king." The preaching of sedition by Maluk Singh was denied by the others. One of these, the lumbardar of a neighbouring village, stated that Maluk Singh had never said anything against the English Government in his presence, although he had asked him (witness) to share his faith. The other two deposed to the effect that Maluk Singh had never used seditious or threatening language against the Government, or spoken of the restoration of the Khalsa Raj.

*Lumbardar of Maluk Singh's native village.

6. Mr. Macnabb also referred to the fact that "Maluk Singh, unlike the generality of the subhas, has a family;" and expressed the following opinion :

"It appears from the above that Maluk Singh was an influential and seditious fanatic in February 1869, but since that time his zeal has considerably cooled down."

7. As regards the mode of dealing with the subhas, Mr. Macnabb wrote as follows :—

"I would recommend that (1) Sahib Singh, (3) Lakha Singh, and (4) Kahn Singh, be detained in banishment for life; that the cases of the others be reconsidered with reference to the state of Kukaism in the Punjab generally at the time when the period named for each shall have terminated; and that should it then be thought expedient to allow their return, they should remain under police surveillance at their homes, and neither attend nor hold fairs or meetings; (6) Jowahir Singh to be detained for life, unless Kukaism collapse so as to cease to be a matter of political anxiety; (5) Brahma Singh and (10) Pahara Singh, 10 years; (8) Man Singh,

three years : (2) Rur Singh and (7) Maluk Singh two years; (9) Hukma Singh, one year. (11) Sirdar Mungal Singh was made over to us by the Maharaja of Patiala; and, as his prisoner, I am not called on for an opinion regarding him further than to state that were he in the same position as the others, I would recommend his immediate release on the terms* offered by him, and, if, that is not approved of, would detain him in banishment for life."

*That he should publicly recant Kukaism

8. The Punjab Government, while concurring generally in Mr. Macnabb's conclusions, did not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to the degrees of danger or guilt. The Lieutenant-Governor considered that the release of the prisoners ought to be made upon the state of feeling in the Punjab and the previous assent of the Local Government. As, however, the men in question had been guilty of grave crimes against the State, the Government of India thought that there would be great advantage in bringing to trial on specific charges those of their number as to whose conviction there could be no reasonable doubt, instead of detaining them in confinement as political prisoners: but it was ultimately resolved, in communication with the Punjab Government, on the continued detention of the Subhas as political prisoners.

9. In the year 1876, after a reference to the Advocate General, Bengal, Sirdar Mungal Singh was made over to the Patiala Durbar for the purpose of being released, the Advocate General having expressed an opinion that the Government could not legally detain as a State prisoner an individual who was not a British subject. Of the remaining ten Subhas, four* are dead; and of the six survivors, three% are in the Chunar Fortress, two‡ at Moulmein, and one in the Asirgarh fort, namely, Maluk Singh, who is the subject of the present reference from the Punjab Government. After consulting the local officers, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that the time has now arrived when the

*Sahib Singh, Rur Singh, Jowahir Singh, and Pahara Singh.

%Kahn Singh, Man Singh, and Hukma Singh.

‡Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh.

release of Maluk Singh will not be attended with inconvenience or danger ; and it is recommended that he should be released and permitted to return to his home, subject only to the condition that he shall not leave his village without obtaining the written permission of the Magistrate of the district, or of the District Superintendent of Police.

———

For orders.
P.R.,—27-8-86.
W.J.S.,—27-8-86.

Office Note

On such a matter as this the Government of India should presumably accept, and act upon, the advice of the Local Government, more especially as Maluk Singh appears to have taken a comparatively subordinate part in the proceedings, which resulted in his imprisonment. His release might accordingly be sanctioned, with the concurrence of Foreign Department, on the condition named. We ought, however, first to make certain that a condition can legally be attached to the order of release in such cases. Have we any papers bearing on this point ?

F.C.D.,—27-8-86.

Please see Judicial Proceedings, June 1877, Nos. 50-62, put up—case of Urgoon Singh, ex-Rajah of Porahat. Urgoon Singh was detained under a warrant issued under Act III of 1881 (The State Prisoners' Act) at Benares, and released on the occasion of the assumption by Her Majesty of the title of Empress of India, with permission to return to his home subject to certain conditions.

Papers also in the case of Doobia Gossain, though not a State prisoner, but under police surveillance, are put up. Nothing further can be traced.

R.C.B.,—2-9-86.

The case of Doobia Gossain has no bearing on the present case.

As regards the case of Urgoon Singh, it will be seen that he was distinctly told that he was allowed to return to his home under the terms of the amnesty proclaimed in Home Department Resolution No. 38C., dated the 1st January 1877, which were that he should announce his return to the district authorities, and of good behaviour for the future.

In the present case, however, the Lieutenant-Governor recommends that Maluk Singh should be released and permitted to return to his home, "subject only to the condition that he shall not leave his village without obtaining the written permission of the Magistrate of the District or of the District Superintendent of Police." The Legislative Department may, perhaps, be asked to advise whether this condition can be legally imposed.

W.J.S.,—3-9-86.

Yes. It would be safer to do this perhaps, as the point does not seem to be altogether free from doubt. If the condition were broken, it would, I suppose, always be possible to issue a fresh warrant under the regulation, and this would seem to be the only alternative, as the regulation does not appear to provide for conditional releases.

F.C.D.,—3-9-86.

Secretary.

To Legislative Department.

A.P.M.,—4-9-86.

To Registrar.

J.D.S.,—7-9-86.

To Deputy Secretary.

A.B.W.,—7-9-86.

———

1. Neither Bengal Regulation III of 1818 nor either of the amending Acts provides for or contemplates any such conditional release as is proposed in this case.

2. Section 227 of the Penal Code makes it an offence to violate any condition on which a remission of punishment is granted; and if it could be held that confinement under the

State Prisoners' Regulation was "punishment" within the meaning of this section, it might perhaps be possible to rearrest a State prisoner conditionally released by charging him with an offence under this section. But it seems to me quite clear that the confinement of a State prisoner cannot be held to be "punishment" within the meaning of this section of the Code, which, moreover, contemplates punishment of a fixed or definite duration or extent, whilst the confinement of State prisoners under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 is of undeterminate limit, depending on the pleasure of the Governor-General in Council.

3. There seems to me to be much the same difficulty about granting a conditional release under the Regulation as was pointed out by Mr. Fitzpatrick in paragraph 4 of his letter, dated 17th June 1886 (in the linked file), with regard to conditional releases under rules made under the Prisons Act. As in that case, if a prisoner has been once released, the executive authority has no power to rearrest him, even though he may have broken one of the conditions on which he was released.

4. No doubt it would always be possible to issue a fresh warrant under the Regulation, as Mr. Daukes suggests, and there might be cases when the breach of a condition of the nature of that proposed in this man's case would justify the issue of such a warrant. But it cannot, I think, be laid down as a general rule that the mere fact of a released State prisoner leaving his village without giving notice to the authorities specified would always justify his rearrest under the State Prisoners' Regulation; and, unless there is justification, the Government should not, I think, exercise the very arbitrary powers conferred on it by the Regulation. As has been more than once held in this Department, proceedings under the State Prisoners' Regulation should not be lightly resorted to.

J.M.M.,—16-9-86.

Secretary.
I agree.

S.H.J.,—18-9-86.

Honourable Member.

There is no law which warrants the issue of a conditional release to persons confined under the Regulation of 1818. But I think that such a person, when released, may very properly be told to observe certain regulations. He would doubtless be aware that the consequences of disobedience might be serious.

C.P.I.,—19-9-86

To Home Department.
A.B.W.,—20-9-86.

Deputy Secretary.
To Secretary.

J.M.M.,—20-9-86.
S.H.J.,—20-9-86.

These notes may be printed for submission, as the case will doubtless have to go before his Excellency the Viceroy.
W.J.S.,—23-9-86.

Yes.

F.C.D.,—23-9-86.

Received in print 30th September 1886.

The release of Maluk Singh may, perhaps, be sanctioned on the understanding that he engages not to quit his village without first obtaining the written permission of the Magistrate of the District or of the District Superintendent of Police as recommended by the Punjab Government.

W.J.S.,—30-9-86.

The release of Maluk Singh might now be sanctioned, he being told that he must not leave his village without the written permission of the Magistrate or District Superintendent of Police. The Punjab Government is about to make a similar recommendation in favour of Hukma Singh.

J.P.H.,—30-9-86.

To Private Secretary to His Excellency for permission to release on conditions the Kuka State Prisoner Maluk Singh.

A.P.M.,—1-10-86.
D.,—6-10-86.

Release of the Kuka leader Maluk Singh

No. 286S., dated Simla, the 13th August 1886.

From :—W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To :—The Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

With reference to your endorsement No. 501 of the 10th April last, forwarding extract from the return of persons confined under Regulation III of 1818 in the Bombay Presidency for the half year ending 31st December 1885, I am directed to state, for the consideration and orders of the Government of India that, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, the time has now arrived when the release of the Kuka leader Maluk Singh, at present detained in the Assirgarh Fort, will not be attended with inconvenience or danger.

2. I am to enclose, for facility of reference, a copy of the summary of evidence taken in 1872, on which Maluk Singh's confinement as a State prisoner was ordered, together with a copy of a letter No. 1941, dated the 18th June last, and of its annexures, from the Commissioner and Superintendent of Jullundur Division, containing the opinions of the local officers as to his release.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor would recommend that Maluk Singh should be released and permitted to return to his home, subject only to the condition that he shall not leave his village without obtaining the written permission of the Magistrate of the District or of the District Superintendent of Police.

No. VII.—Summary of Evidence regarding Maluk Singh.

Maluk Singh, unlike the generality of the Subhas, has a family. Was made a Kuka eight years ago, and a Subha six years ago.

Has lately left his home in Firozpur and gone to work on the canal not far from Bhaini. A number of people from the lower parts of Firozpur and from Sirsa have been driven to a similar move by the late scarcity. Among these are a number of Kukas. There is nothing to show whether Maluk Singh's move was one of family necessity or was made with a view to have a force of Kukas under their local leader in the vicinity of Bhaini.

In his deposition No. 3, before Assistant Commissioner, Firozpur, Badhawa Singh, Lambardar of Phulleh, states—"I turned Maluk Singh out of my village after the disturbance of February 1869. He had at that time asked me to become a Kuka, and that he would make me a Subha when he got his kingdom; also that English rule would soon come to an end. He was very active in the Tirajpur disturbances and collected treasure with that object."

Dula Singh, No. 4, says he never heard him preach sedition, but he collected treasure and took part in the Mukatsar (i.e., Tirajpur) affair.

Lakha Singh Subha states that he went down by Ram Singh's orders to re-distribute the money and grain that had been collected at Maluk Singh's village.

NOTE:—It will be observed that this money was in addition to the Rs. 5,000 found by Mr. Turtor Smith, so that a considerable sum must have been collected.

DEFENCE

Statement of Maluk Singh, son of Sukha Singh, 39 years old, village Phulehwala Mukatsar, in Firozpur.

Ram Singh made me a Kuka at Bhaini in 1921.[1] After

1. i.e. 1864 A.D.—Compiler.

two years was made a Subha. I was at Tirajpur (i.e. at the outbreak). There was a *Mela* there. A number of Mastanas had collected their property at my village, but under Samand Singh (alias Mastan Singh). After they had been punished, Ram Singh sent Jowahir Singh, Gyani Singh and Dubha Singh to warn us, and I was taken to Bhaini for three days.

I have gone to the works on the canal on account of the scarcity, but have not parted with my land.

I was present at the Lohri mela, but left the night of the mela. Did not see the Mastanas.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

NOTE—Looks as if he could become a mastana; otherwise a quite fellow.

OPINION

It appears from the above that Maluk Singh was an influential and seditious fanatic in February 1869, but that since that time his zeal has considerably cooled down. He is also a family man and owns land. I think he might with safety be allowed to return at the end of two years, on condition of remaining at his home under the surveillance of the police, and never to attend fairs or meetings of any kind.

The 23rd April 1872. J.W. MacNabb.
Deputy Commissioner.

No. 1510, dated Simla, the 12th October 1886.

From :—A.P. MacDonnell, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 286S., dated the 13th August last, recommending the release of the Kuka leader Maluk Singh, who is at present in confinement in the Assirgarh Fort, on the ground that, in the

opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the time has now arrived when the release of this prisoner will not be attended with inconvenience or danger. It is also suggested that a condition of his release should be that he shall not leave his village without obtaining the written permission of the Magistrate of the District or of the District Superintendent of Police.

2. In reply, I am to say that thd Governor-General in Council, after considering the circumstances of the case, is pleased to sanction the release of Maluk Singh. I am at the same time to observe that, although there is nothing in the law which warrants the conditional release of a prisoner confined under Regulation III of 1818, such a person may be properly told on release that if he fails carefully to observe certain regulations, the consequences may be serious. Maluk Singh may, therefore, be warned, as His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor proposes, that he is not to leave his village except with the written permission of the Magistrate of the District or the District Superintendent of Police.

3. I am to request that the warrant under which Maluk Singh has been confined may be returned to this Department.

No. 237

From :—W.M. Young, Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To :— The Secretary to the
Government of India,
Home Department.

Dated Lahore 31st January 1887.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 1510 of the 12th October last, conveying sanction to the release, with permission to return to his home, of Maluk Singh the Kuka State prisoner under detention in the Asirgarh Fort, I am directed to return

herewith, the original warrant under which the prisoner was confined, and to forward, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying copy of a letter, No. 220 dated the 17th Instant, from the Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces reporting that the orders for the release of Maluk Singh have been carried into effect.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedt. servant,

Sd/- N. Maindy
For Secretary to Government, Punjab.

(Copy of a letter No. 220, dated 17th January 1887, from the Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.)

I am directed by the Officiating Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1732 dated the 5th November last and its accompaniment, and to state in reply that Maluk Singh, the Kuka State prisoner who was in confinement in the Asirgarh Fort, has been released and allowed to proceed to Ferozepur, for which place he left Asirgarh by rail on the 17th ultimo, after being provide with a Railway ticket and subsistence money for the journey. Before leaving he was duly warned that he is not to leave his village except with the written permission of the Magistrate of the District or of the District Superintendent of Police.

2. The original warrant under which Maluk Singh was confined at Asirgarh is herewith forwarded, for transmission to the Government of India in the Home Department.

No. 51.

Warrant

To,

The Officer in Command,
Asseergarh.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine the Maluk Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in Asseergarh Jail, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor-General in Council,

Sd/- H.L. Dampier,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India
in the Home Dept.

Simla,
The 31st October 1872.

Confidential

No. 550, dated Bombay Castle, 21st January 1887.

From :—W. Lee-Warnger, Esq; Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political Department.

To:—The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Deptt.

3. The prisoner Maluk Singh of Pailad, aged 54, has been detained for over 14 years in the fort of Asseergarh. His conduct has been good. As the Government of India letter Home Deptt. No. 2003, dated 31st October 1872, contained no

information about him, this Government is not in a position to express an opinion as to the policy of releasing this Kuka prisoner.

Note on file dated 8th Feb. 1887.

Maluk Singh release was sanctioned on 12th October 1886, and he left Assirgarh on 17th December. Sir C. Aitchison proposed to release three other Kukas. He is communicating their names by post.

Release of Hukma Singh and Man Singh, Kuka Prisoners confined in Chunar Fort

Confidential
D.O.

To

The Hon'ble Sir C.U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,

Dated 10th September 1886.

My dear Sir Charles,

It has been suggested that in the event of Her Majesty's jubilee being celebrated next year the opportunity might be taken to reconsider the cases of the Kukas* now confined at Chunar and Moulmein. I am accordingly desired to say that the Governor-General in Council would be glad if, after considering the circumstances of each case, you will be good favour the Government of India with your opinion whether clemency could safely be extended to any or all of these men.

*Lukha Singh, Brahma Singh at Moulmein.
Kahn Singh at Chunar

Yours sincerely,

No. 13.

Chunar, 17th February 1887.

From :—Commandant,
Chunar.

To :— The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department,
Calcutta.

Sir,

I have the honor to report that in accordance with Telegraphic instructions received from the Commissioner and Agent Governor-General, Benares, I have released the Kooka prisoners Hukma Singh and Man Singh from the State Prison at this Fortress this day. I have also to report that the conditions under which they have been released namely that they shall not leave their villages without written permission of the Magistrate of their Districts or the Police Superintendent have been explained to them.

The above prisoners Warrants are herewith returned.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Sd/- W.E. Money,
Lieut. Colonel
Commandant, Chunar,

Warrant of Man Singh

No. 56.

To

The Officer in Charge of the
Chunar Fortress

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Man Singh,

shall be placed under personal restraint in the Chunar Fortress, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III, of 1818.

By order of the Governor-General in Council,

Sd/- H. S. Dampier
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
in the Home Dept.

Simla,
The 31st October, 1872.

Released in accordance with instructions received from Commissioner and Agent Governor General, Benares, on 17th Feb. 1887.

Chunar,
17 Feb. 1887.

Sd/- W.E. Money Lt. Col.
Comr. Fort Chunar.

Warrant of Hukam Singh
No. 57.

To

The Officer in Charge of the Chunar Fortress.

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Hukma Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Chunar Fortress, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council, and the provisions of Regulations III, of 1818.

By order of the Governor-General in Council,

Sd/- H.L. Dampier
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, in
the Home Dept.

Simla,
The 31st October, 1872.

Released in accordance with instructions received from Commissioner and Agent Governor General, Benares on 17th Feb. 1887.

Sd/- W.E. Money, Lt. Col.
Comr. Fort Chunar.

Chunar,
17th Feb. 1887.

Release of Kuka State prisoner Kahn Singh.

From :—Agent Governor-General, Benares.

To :—The Secretary to Government N. W. Provinces and Oudh, Allahabad.

Dated Benares, the 18th February 1887.

Sir,

With reference to your telegram of the 16th February regarding the release of the Kuka Prisoners in confinement as state prisoners in the Fort of Chunar, I have the honor to report that Hukma Singh and Man Singh were released on the morning of the 17th February. Owing to a clerical mistake which accured in the Telegram I forwarded to the Commandant in the name of one of the prisoners to be released (Hukma Singh which was read Lukna Singh), they were not released on the 16th. My second telegram correcting the mistake having only reached the Commandant shortly before midnight.

2. The conditions of release were explained to Hukma Singh and Man Singh and were accepted by them.

I have &c.
Sd/- Lumsden
Agent Governor-General.

From :—The Chief Secretary to Government,
N. W. Provinces and Oudh.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

Dated Allahabad, 7th March 1887.

Sir,

I am directed to forward for the orders of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council copies of the communications marginally noted, received from the Agent Governor-General, Benares regarding—

Letters Nos. 45 & 46 both dated 26th February from the Agent Governor-General, Benares.

(1) a petition for release from surveillance of Muhommad Ali Khan, ex Nawab of Tonk and (2) the omission of the name of Kahn Singh from the orders sanctioning the release of Kuka prisoners from the Chunar Fort.

I have the honor to be,
Sir
Your most obedient servant
Sd/- Illegible
for Chief Secretary to Government
North Western Provinces & Oudh.

Int. B.
May 87
No. 92.

No. 45

From :—Agent Governor-General,
Benares.

To :—The Secretary to the Government
North Western Provinces and Oudh, Allahabad.

Dated Benares, the 26th February 1887.

Sir,

With reference to the orders conveyed in your telegram of the 16th February 1887 regarding the release of the two Kuka prisoners, Man Singh and Hukma Singh, from the State

Prisoners in the Chunar Fort, I would enquire whether the omission from the orders for release of the name of Kahn Singh, a Punjabi Kuka confined in the Chunar Fort under similar circumstances was intentional. Man Singh and Hukma Singh had been in confinement in the Chunar Fort since December 1872 but Kahn Singh was received on Chunar Fort by transfer from Hazari Bagh Prison in May 1880, vide correspondence ending with this office No. 135 dated 29th June 1880.

He is a very old man (76 years) and the commandant of the Fort reports that he has been very greatly upset at being left in the Fort alone after the release of his fellow prisoners. There may be some reason for the omission of his name from the orders for the release of the other.

Kuka prisoners, but there is nothing in my office File to explain it, and I have therefore entured to address you on the subject with the view that if there be any special reason for making an exception in his case, the elemency shown to Hukma Singh and Man Singh may be extended to Kahn Singh.

I have the honor to be,
Sir
Your most obedient servant
Sd/- Lumsden
Agent Governor-General.

No. 3

Half-yearly Report,
State Prisoners.

Chunar 2nd January 1888.

From :—Commandant Chunar,

To :—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, Calcutta.

Sir,

For the information of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, I have the honor to report

that nothing of any importance has transpired since the report of 1st July 1887—but as regards the health of Kooka prisoner Kahn Singh I have to report that he is feeble and that his strength is failing. His age is 77 years 6 months.

I have the honor to be,
Sd/- Morey, Lieutt. Colonel,
Commandant Chunar.

No. 113

To :—The Secretary to the Govt. of Punjab.

Sir,

In continuation of Endt. No. 1164 dated the 12th July last I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a report submitted by the Commandant, Chunar, under Sec. 5 of Regulation III of 1818.

It will be observed that the health of Kooka prisoner Kahn Singh is reported to be failing and that his age is over 77 years.

Under these circumstances I am to enquire whether H.H. the L.G. would now recommend the release of this prisoner.

I have &c.
Sd/-

No. 247

From :—C.L. Tupper, Esquire, Offg. Secy. to Govt. Punjab.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.

Dated Lahore, 14th of February 1888.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 113 of the 21st ultimo, relative

to Kahn Singh the Kuka state prisoner in confinement at Chunar, I am directed to state that in consideration of the prisoner's advanced age and failing strength Mr. Lyall considers that he may be now released with permission to return to his home.

I have the honor to be,
Sd/- H. Mandly,
for Offg. Secy. to Govt. Punjab.

No. 8

From :—C.L. Tupper, Esquire, Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.

Dated Lahore, the 7th January 1888.

Sir,

I am directed to ackowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2027 of the 17th ultimo, relative to the two Kuka State prisoners, Kahn Singh and Lakha Singh, and to state that in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion there can be no objection to the proposed transfer of Lakha Singh from Moulmein to Chunar.

I have the honor to be,
Sd/-
for Offg. Secy. to Government, Punjab.

No. 473

Home Department (Judicial).
Calcutta, the 10th March 1888.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 247 dated the 14th ultimo, and in reply to say that the

Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the release of Kahn Singh, the Kuka prisoner now confined at Chunar, with permission to return to his home. I am to request that the warrant under which this man has been confined may be returned to this Department.

2. I am at the same time to state, with reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 8, dated the 7th January last that the release of Kahn Singh and renders it unnecessary to transfer Kuka prisoner Lakha Singh from Moulmein to Chunar.

I have &c.
Sd/-

No. 30

Chunar, 31st March 1888.

From :—Commandant, Chunar.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt., Simla.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 473 dated 10th March 1888 to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab—copy received under endorsement No. 77 dated 29 idem from the Agent Governor-General, Benares, I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council that I have ordered the release of Kuka prisoner Kahn Singh on the afternoon of the 30th instant.

The warrant order which this prisoner was confined has been returned through Agent Governor-General, Benares.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/-
Commandant, Chunar.

Dated Allahabad, the 13th April 1888.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 474 dated 10th March last, forwarding correspondence in regard to the release of Kahn Singh, the Kuka prisoner confined in the Fort at Chunar, I am directed to return the warrants under which the prisoner was detained, with the date (30th March 1888) of his release endorsed thereon by the Commandant of the Chunar Fort.

Sd/- Chief Secy. N.W.
Oudh.

Warrant of Kahn Singh
No. 376 (Judicial)

To :—The Officer in Charge of the Chunar Fort.

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Kahn Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Chunar Fort, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor General in Council.

Sd/- Bernard,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India in the
Home Rev. & Agri. Deptt.

Simla :
The 13th April 1880.

Released on 30th March 1888 under letter No. 473 dated 10th March 1888 from Secretary to Government of India Home Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

Sd/- Lieut. Colonel,
Commandant, Chunar.

Charges on account of Kahn Singh Kuka prisoner.

No. 55

Chunar, dated 8th June 1888.

Political
Prisoner.

From :—Commandant, Chunar.

To :—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, Simla.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 1681 dated 24th October 1887 and this office No. 151 dated 28th idem in reply I have the honor to solicit the favour of sanction of the following charges on account of Kuka prisoner Kahn Singh released from State Prison Fort Chunar on 30th March 1888—this being required by the Accountant General N.W.P. & Oudh Allahabad :

To diet charges &c. from 1st July 1887 to 31st March 1888 at Rs. 40/ p.m....	Rs. 360-0-0
To travelling expenses from Chunar to his Home in Ludhiana District....	Rs. 34-14-6
Total :	Rs. 394-14-6

No. 1103

To :—The Commandant, Chunar.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 55 dated the 8th ultimo, I am directed to say that the charges incurred for the maintenance from 1st July 1887 to 31st March 1888 of Kahn Singh late a Kuka state prisoner confined in the Chunar Fortress and also

on account of his journey from Chunar to his home in the Ludhiana District in the Punjab are sanctioned by the Governor General in Council.

Proposed release of Kuka State Prisoners Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh.

Home Department

(From Chief Commissioner of Burma letter No. 617/6 S.P. dated 25th February 1887.)

Subject. Forwards a petition from two Kuka prisoners at Moulmein named Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh in which they pray for their release.

We have released Brahma Singh, but the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was unable to recommend the release of Lakha Singh.

A copy of our order releasing Brahma Singh has been sent to the Chief Commr. of Burma.

Sd/- W.J.S.
11/3

A reply might go that the G.G. in C is unable to sanction the release of Lakha Singh.

C.C.'s letter is dated 25th February after the release of Brahma Singh should have been effected.

Secretary.

Sd/- J.P.H.
11/3

Foreign Department No. 617/6 S.P.

From :—E.S. Symes, Esquire, C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

Dated Rangoon, the 25th February 1887.

Sir,

I am directed to submit a petition received from Lakha

Singh and Brahma Singh, the two Kuka prisoners who are at present detained at Moulmein under a warrant received with Home Department letter No. 2005 dated 31st October 1872. I am to remark that the conduct of both prisoners has been very good throughout the period of their incarceration.

I have the honor to be &c.
Sd/- E.S. Symes
Secretary.

To :—The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Burma, Rangoon.

The petition of Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh the only two Kooka state prisoners under restraint in the Kyonktan out post Jail.

Dated Moulmein, 7th February 1887.

Res : Shewett.

That your petitioners on such a grand occasion as the celebration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen Empress, beg to lay the following facts of their case before you with the full hope that you will be pleased to move the Chief Commissioner to recommend them for the favourable consideration of Government.

That your petitioners were placed under restraint in the Andaman Jail by order of the Governor General in Council and the provision of Regulation III of 1818 vide Warrants Nos. 54 and 55 under the hand and seal of the officiating Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department dated Simla 31st October, 1872.

That your petitioners with Ram Singh and Jowahir Singh were placed under restraint for having been implicated some rebellions movements in Upper India and arrested by order of Government.

That your petitioners and Jowahir Singh were deported to

Moulmein when they arrived about January 1873, and Ram Singh deported to Rangoon and from thence to Mergui. Ram Singh having since died in Mergui and Jowahir Singh also in Moulmein, thus leaving your petitioners under restraint in the Kyonktan out post Jail at Moulmein.

That petitioners since their arrival about January 1873 extending over a period of 14 years have conducted themselves to the satisfaction of the authorities.

Therefore petitioners pray that the hardships they have endured, their continued good conduct coupled with the death of their comrades be taken into consideration and they be recommended for release on the same conditions as other state prisoners, namely that they undertake to reside in Moulmein on Government allowing them the same subsistence and clothing expenses which they now receive as also house rent, reporting themselves monthly to the Police or Magistrate as may be ordered, or under such other conditions as Government as think fit for which act of kindness petitioners shall ever pray.

Moulmein.
the 8th Feby. 1887.

No. 85/1

Moulmein Central Jail. The 9th February 1887.

Forwarded to the Inspector General of Jails, Burma, with a request that the same be submitted to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner for favourable consideration as the petitioners have behaved themselves very satisfactorily during their long imprisonment.

Sd/- F.H. Dobson
Supdt. Central Jail, Moulmein.

No. 551

To :—The Chief Commissioner, Burma.

Caulcutta, the 19th March 1887.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

No. 617-6 S.P. dated the 25th ultimo, forwarding a petition from two Kuka prisoners at Moulmein named Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh in which they pray for their release.

2. In reply I am to say that Governor-General in Council is unable to sanction the release of Lakha Singh. As regards Brahma Singh, I am to invite a reference to the endorsement from this Department No. 312, dated the 18th ultimo, communicating the orders of the Government of India for his release on certain conditions on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee.

I have the honor to be &c.
Sd/- A.P. MacDounald
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 168-34-S.P., dated Rangoon,
the 7th December 1888.

From :—Thirkell White, Esq., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma.

To :—The Secretary to the Government of India.

I am directed to submit, for the orders of the Government of India, a copy of a letter (No. 5591-118, dated the 27th November 1888) from the Inspector General of Jails, with its enclosure, a petition from Lakha Singh, a State Prisoner detained in Moulmein.

2. In your letter No. 537 dated the 19th March 1887, the Government of India declined to sanction Lakha Singh's release. The Chief Commissioner is not aware of the reasons which render it undesirable that Lakha Singh should be allowed to return to the Punjab. But in view of his continued good conduct and of his advanced age, the Chief Commissioner thinks it possible that the Government of India may be pleased to grant him the indulgence for which he now prays, namely, permission to live without surveillance at Moulmein on condition that he does not leave that place without the consent of

the Deputy Commissioner, and on the conditions as regards subsistence allowance proposed in Dr. Sinclair's letter.

No. 5591-118, dated the 27th November 1888.

From :—Surgeon-Major D. Singlair, M.B., Inspector General of Prisons, Burma.

To :—The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Burma.

I have the honor to submit in original for the favourable consideration of the Chief Commissioner a petition for release from Lakha Singh, State prisoner, now confined in the Moulmein Jail. The Superintendent reports that the prisoner's conduct throughout his long confinement has been most exemplary, and recommends that, in the event of his being released, he may be permitted to reside in Moulmein, and that an allowance of one rupee per diem be allowed him for subsistence, clothing and house rent, which will effect a saving of Rs. 188-12-0 per annum in the expenditure incurred as shown in the margin.

Present allowance for dieting viz., 365 days, at annas 12 a day	273-12-0
Clothing	16-0-0
Wages of two peons, at Rs. 22 per mensem.	264-0-0
Total	553-12-0
Deduct proposed allowance of Rs. 1 per diem	365-0-0
Saving ...	188-12-0

To :—The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Burma, Rangoon.

The humble petition of Lakha Singh, a Kuka State prisoner, at present under surveillance in the Kyonktan Outpost Jail.

Respectfully Sheweth—That your petitioner and 11 others were arrested by order of Government, for being implicated in some rebellious movement in Upper India.

That your petitioner and two others were sent to Moulmein, one was sent to Mergui, and the remaining eight were sent to Bombay, and other stations in India.

That of the four sent to Burma, Ram Singh died at Mergui and Jowahir Singh died at Moulmein, and Brahma Singh was released by order of Government on the celebration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen and permitted to return to his home in Punjab; thus your petitioner is the only one now left of the number sent to Burma.

That your petitioner was sent to Moulmein in January 1874, so that he has been under surveillance for upwards of 14 years and his age is over 74 years.

Therefore your petitioner prays that you will be pleased to move the Chief Commissioner to take his case into consideration and release him from surveillance on condition that petitioner undertakes to reside in Moulmein and on no account leave the district.

For which act of kindness petitioner shall ever pray.

The 8th October 1888.

No. 3, dated Calcutta, the 3rd January 1889.

From:—A.P. MacDonnell, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

To:—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

I am directed to forward the accompanying letter[1] from the Chief Commissioner of Burma, submitting a petition from Lakha Singh a Kuka State Prisoner detained in Moulmein praying for permission to live without surveillance at Moulmein on condition that he does not leave that place without the consent of the Deputy Commissioner.

2. It will be seen that in view of the prisoners' continued good conduct and of his advanced age, the Chief Commissioner thinks it possible that the Government of India

1. From the Chief Commissioner of Burma, No. 168-34-S.P. dated 7th December 1888, and enclosures.

might be disposed to grant him the indulgence for which he now prays. In the letter from the Punjab Government, No. 269 dated 6th February 1887, Sir Charles Aitchison expressed his inability to recommend the release of Lakha Singh at that time, but the Government of India would be glad to know whether Sir James Lyall sees any reason for modifying the view then expressed.

Diary No. 378 (Copy)

From:—The Chief Commissioner of Burma, No. 166-34-S.P. dated the 7th December 1888.

Please see parts marked in Office Note of 9th February 1887, pages 2 and 3, Judicial Proceedings A, February 1887, Nos. 90 to 93.

The arrangement proposed in the present letter will be productive of an annual saving of Rs. 188-12, and will apparently not be attended with risk, the petitioner being over 74 years old and his conduct being reported as uniformly good in incarceration. Before, however, the application is sanctioned, the assert of the Punjab Government will be necessary.

We may enquire whether it has any objection.

J.P., 19-12-88
H.T.M., 19-12-88

Has Kahn Singh been released from Chunar ?

J.P.H., 20-12-88

Yes. Please see Judicial B Proceedings, March 1888, Nos. 99 to 101, put up.

R.C.B., 21-12-88
J.P., 21-12-88
H.T.M., 21-12-88

To Secretary—Please see letter from the Punjab Government of 6th February 1887.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab might be asked whether he would agree either to the indulgence recommended

by the Chief Commissioner or to the absolute release of the prisoner. He is of advanced age and has been of good conduct.

J.P.H., 22-12-88

We know that there has been a good deal of Kuka offervescence in the Punjab lately, and I think it may be undesirable that this man who was a very prominent seditious Kuka should have the opportunity of communicating freely with his co-religionists at present. The Lieutenant Governor could not recommend the man's release last year.

But there is no objection to sending the application to the Punjab for report, nothing the past references in the case.

A.P.M., 23-12-88

Subject:—Proposed release of Kuka State Prisoner Lakha Singh.

Abstract.

In reply to his No. 3 dated 3rd instant states that there is no objection to Lakha Singh Kuka state prisoner being set at liberty provided he does not leave Moulmein.

Orders

Accused gave his age before Sir Donald Macnabb as 36. So 52 is now his correct age.

The warrant of 31st October 1872 directed that Lakha Singh should be detained in the Moulmein Jail. Apparently if the prisoner is to be permitted to remain at large at Moulmein there should be a fresh warrant to the Deputy Commissioner of Moulmein specifying the nature of the restraint to be exercised in future. We may consult Leg. Dept. about this, if it is determined to allow Lakha Singh to leave the Jail.

Sd/-
31/1

Leg.

Having regard to the view of the L.G.'s letter I do not think

the man ought to be released from Jail. We know that Kukas already often came and going between Burmah and the Punjab and if this fanatic were let loose, it is almost certain that he would direct interferes in the Punjab from Moulmein. Before action is taken, however, other file laid before H.M. to ascertain confidentially from the S & D Department whether this man is regarded as dangerous and influential.

Sd/-
1/2

I have not been able to find Sir C. Aitchison letter from the Punjab, 2 February 1887, referred to in Mr. Heweltt's letter now replied.

Sd/-
3/2

Please see letter marked with red slip in the February 1887 Progs.

Sd/-
6/2

On the whole I think the man must be detained in custody for sometime longer. His exaggeration of his age should be mentioned to the C.C.

Sd/-
7/2

Home Secretary

Please see Home Department Pros. of August 1872 (red slip No. 1) where a summary of the evidence against Suba Lakha Singh recorded by Mr. J.W. Macknabb C.S. is given.

Also the notes on Mr. Macknabb's enquiry at the part of page 4 and top of page 5 (red slip No. II) where the then Home Secretary received the case of this man.

Mr. Macknabb's opinion was "This man is clearly the most turbulent of the Subas. There can be no doubt about his preaching sedition and his having seen Hira Singh's

band off with encouraging words. He should remain in perpetual banishment—and the Home Secy. acceded that Lakha Singh should not be released except under a very just change in the country and in his own conduct." The question is whether the sentiments of the Kuka sect towards us changed?

Now all the reports I receive show that they have not. **The Kukas for one thing absolutely refuse to believe in the death of their Guru Ram Singh and maintain that he is alive and will return to restore the "Khalsa Kingdom."** Since the Dalip Singh agitation began in 1883, the Kukas have joined with that Guru Ram Singh's return will proved the restoration of the Maharaja to the throne of the Punjab (vide para 11 of T & D. Department Secret Abstract for 1888).

Suba Kahn Singh, the state prisoner who was released last year is reported by the Punjab Special Branch to telling the Kukas that Guru Ram Singh is alive and will soon return. No doubt Lakha Singh, when all the reports described as turbulant, fanatical, and jealous propagandist", would do the same if released, and his tale would be listened to all the more readily from the fact of his returning from Burmah, where Ram Singh was sent.

The Kukas are as ready as we to give trouble over the "cur-question", the agitation respecting sheet is being actively kept up in other parts of India. That this is so is shown by a report I have just received from A.S. (who is known to you). He has just been by the Kuka headquarters at Bhaini, or a visit to Baba Budh Singh the present leader of the sect. A.S. has intensively joined the Kukas the better to walk him to make an enquiry regarding certain Sikhs or Kukas who went to Russia last October with letters and presents for Dalip Singh. The fact of their passing through Meshed was reported by General Maclean and we have been endeavouring ever since to trace the man.

Baba Budh Singh told A.S. that he believed his brother Ram Singh to be alive but "that he had been removed from Rangoon to some other place by the English".

He said also that—"Guru Ram Singh had impressed upon his followers the necessity of conspiring with Russia at all hazards, and that the Kukas would be against the English till Ram Singh has restored to them. Guru Ram Singh had been incarnated[1] to defend religion and stop cow-killing in India and the Kukas would never abate their exertions till it was stopped".

The Punjab Government says that even if this man is set up liberty, he should not leave Moulmein and adds that he is only 52 and is capable of doing and would probably do a great deal of mischief if allowed to wander about the Punjab where he has neither home nor land".

Taking everything into consideration, I think it is most undersirable that Lakha Singh should be released from confinement.

Sd/-
1/2/89

No. 169

From :—C.L. Tupper, Esquire, Secretary to Government Punjab.

To:—The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

Dated Lahore, the 25th January 1889.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3 dated 3rd January 1889, forwarding a letter No. 168/34-S.P. dated 7th December 1888, from the Chief Commissioner of Burmah regarding the release of Lakha Singh, a Kuka State prisoner detained at Moulmein, on condition that he does not leave that place without the consent of the Deputy Commissioner.

1. The Kukas maintain that Guru Ram Singh is an incarnation of Guru Govind Singh and call him the "12" Guru.

2. In reply, I am desired to say that Sir James Lyall has no objection to Lakha Singh being set at liberty provided he does not leave Moulmein.

I am to state that Lakha Singh's age is about 52 or 53 years and not over 74 as he represents; consequently he is capable of doing and would probably do a great deal of mischief if allowed to wander about the Punjab where he now has neither home nor land. The Lieutenant Governor is, therefore, of opinion that Lakha Singh should be made to report himself every week and that efficient Police Surveillance should be maintained over him to prevent his escape by steamer.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Sd/- C.L. Tupper,
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

No. 137

To : The Chief Commissioner of Burma,

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 168/34-S.P. dated the 7th December last, submitting for the orders of the Government of India a copy of a communication[1] from the Inspector-General of Jails Burma, with its enclosure—a petition from Lakha Singh, a State prisoner, detained in Moulmein, in which he prays that he may be allowed to live without surveillance at that place conditionally on his leaving Moulmein. You refer to previous orders of the Government of India declined to sanction the release of this prisoner, and that although you are not of the reasons which render it undesirable that he should be allowed to return to the Punjab you think that in view of his continued

1. No. 5591/118 dated the 27th November 1888.

good conduct and his advanced age, it may be possible to grant him the indulgence for which he now prays, on certain conditions specified in your letter.

In reply, I am to say that having fully considered the matter, the Governor General in Council considers it desirable that he should be detained in custody for some time longer. I am at the same time to point out that Lakha Singh's present age is not as he represents 74 years but only about 52 or 53 years.

Sd/-
12/2

No. 138

Copy forwarded to the Government of Punjab for information with reference to its letter No. 169 dated the 25th ultimo.

By Order.

No. 87

The Chief Commissioner of Burma.
(Copy to Punjab Government)
137/38 dated the 19th February 1889.
D. No. 44

(By approval)
14/2

Sd/-
14/2

In reply to his letter of 7th December last states that the Governor General in Council considers it desirable that the Kuka prisoner Lakha Singh should be detained in custody for some time longer. Also points out that the prisoner's age is 52 or 53 years and not as he represents 74 years.

Office Note

At the time of the Jubilee the case of No. 2, the Kuka, was also considered, and Sir Charles Aitchison, then Lt. Govr. of the Punjab, was unable to recommend his release. The

Home Deptt. accordingly, under whose orders this man is detained, rejected Lakha Singh's petition praying that he may be released. Should it be decided to take any further action Home Deptt. will have to be consulted.

Sd/-
11/6/89

A draft to the Govt. of Madras is submitted, after its issue the file may be referred to the Home Deptt. with regard to the release of the Kuka prisoner Lakha Singh who is detained under a warrant issued by that Deptt. ?

Sd/-
12/6/89

Secy. to see.

Secy. :

H.E. wished that the possibility of releasing Lakha Singh should be considered.

From the Home Deptt. papers tied up below it appears that this man is about the most dangerous Kuka left and the Punjab Govt. would most strongly object to his return to that province where the Kuka Sect is still very active.

Four months ago the Home Deptt. decided that it would not be safe even to allow him to live under surveillance at Moulmein.

Sd/-
25/6

H.E. : I am afraid this man could not well be let out.

Sd/ H.M.D.
27/6.

Return of State Prisoners in Burma for the half year ending the 31st December 1902.

Burma

Political Department No. 75-4R-1.

From:—The Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma.

To:—The Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt.

Dated Rangoon, the 4th February 1903.

Sir,

I am directed to submit the return of persons under detention for the reasons of State in Burma for the half-year ending the 31st December 1902.

2. Mirza Nizam Shah, one of the Delhi state prisoners, died on the 30th August 1902, as already reported in my letter No. 665/5-S-3, dated the 20th September 1902. All the State prisoners, except Lakha Singh, who was suffering from rheumatism a month ago, are said to be in good health and to have conducted themselves is a satisfactory manner.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor does not recommend that any persons detained in persuance of warrant under Regulation III of 1818 should be released at present.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Sd/-
for Offg. Ch. Secy.

IB
March 1903/34.

Death of Lakha Singh.

Diary Heading—S.P. 1903 Regr. No. 10208 I.B.
Diary No.—23. I.B.

Letter from :—The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Burma, No. 28-4R-1 dated 3rd, Recd. the 12th August 1903.

Forwards a return of State Prisoners in Burma for the half year ending the 30th June 1903.

Compared with the previous return. There are no changes in Class I. In Class II the name of Lakha Singh who died on the 6th February 1903, has been omitted.

13/8/83.

Foreign Office,
The 26th August 1903.

To,

The Honl. Mr. C.G. Bayre, C.S.I.
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma,
Rangoon.

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your official letter No. 28-4R-I dated the 3rd August 1903, forwarding the return of persons under detention for reasons of State in Burma for half year ending the 30th June 1903. The letter reporting Lakha Singh's death, mentioned in para 2, does not appear to have been received in this office and we should be obliged if you would kindly furnish us a copy.

Your truly
Sd/-
Asstt. Secty.

Political Department
No. 325/-4-R-I

Chief Secretary's Office,
Rangoon.
The 10th September 1903.

Dear Sir,

As requested in your Demi-Official letter, dated the 26th August 1903, to Mr. Bayre, I am desired to enclose a copy of this office letter No. 283/5-S-3, dated 6th March 1903, to the address of the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, reporting the death of Lakha Singh.

I am to express regret that the fact that the letter was addressed to the Home Department was not noted in the office letters No. 28/4. R-I dated the 3rd August 1903.

Your truely
Sd/-

V. Gobrial, Esq.
Asstt. Secty to the Government of India
Foreign Department.

Letter No. 283/5-S-3, dated 6th March 1903, to the Hon'ble C.G. Bayne, C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secty. to the Government of Burma, Home Department.

I am directed to solicit a reference to the correspondence ending with Home Department letter No. 521, dated the 7th September 1896, sanctioning an increase of Rs. 5 to the allowance drawn by Lakha Singh, a released state prisoner.

2. I am now to report for the information of the Government of India that Lakha Singh died at Moulmein on the 5th February 1903. The original warrant under Regulation III of 1818 under which Lakha Singh was detained, is returned herewith, duly endorsed.

(True Copy)

Sd/-

Chief Supdt., Burma Secretariat.

KUKA SAKHIS OR PROPHECIES

Badh Tirath Sakhis

Confidential.
No. 213-S

From :—W.M. Young, Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To :—A. Mackenzie, Esquire,
Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Department.

Dated Simla, the 8th August 1882.

Sir,

In continuation of my Confidential letter No. 315S, of the 23rd September 1881, forwarding translations of the intercepted letters from Guru Ram Singh, Kuka, I am desired to forward, for the information of the Government of India 5 printed copies of translation of *Kuka Sakhis* or prophecies, alleged to have been recovered from the Badh Tirath Tank at Haripur in the Sirsa District in October 1876 with notes thereon by Mr. D.E. Mc. Cracken, assistant to the Inspector General of Police, Punjab Special Branch.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/-
For Secretary to Govt., Punjab.

SECRET

KUKA SAKHIS

Note by Mr. D.E. McCracken, Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, Special Branch.

SECRETARY,

In August last, I had to superintend the printing of the

translation of the intercepted letters from Ram Singh, the Kuka leader, and noticing that he frequently alluded in them to his study of the *Sakhis* since his imprisonment, and enquired if the copies furnished to him had been taken from the book, found with other relics in 1876 at Haripur, in the Sirsa district which contained the prophecies of Guru Govind Singh on the subject of distubances in 1878; the rise of the Kuka sect; the incarnation of the 12th Guru; and his expulsion of the *Mahan Malech* (meaning the English),—I determined, if possible, to obtain copies of these documents.

I communicated with Mr. Warburton, District Superintendent of Police at Ludhiana, who said he had obtained copies in 1879, but could not lay his hands on them. Later on he sent me two Sakhi, of which I now submit translation and transliterations (marked Nos. I and II) made by Inspector Aya Singh of the Special Branch, who is a good Gurmukhi scholar. Yesterday, Mr. Warburton sent me a third Sakhi with a translation made by Inspector Aya Singh and Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur in May last, both of which I also submit.

Mr. Warburton says he obtained the first two Sakhis in 1879, through Ishar Singh, the Kuka who obtained the first of the letters from Ram Singh which were printed last year.

The first set beginning "One God is the preserver of the universe and of the product of the plough," was obtained from Mastan Singh, No. 32, and Narain Singh, No. 19,[1] of the Ludhiana printed list of Kukas. The second set was obtained from Chanda Singh, Kuka (Ragi) of Jergri, police station Doraha in Patiala territory.

Mr. Warburton writes—"Irrespective of my informants I have heard from various sources, particularly from the leading Kukas of Chhajewal and Kamalpur (who have committed these Sakhis to memory) that these invented prophecies of Guru Govind Singh are widely circulated among the Kuka sect and are implicitly believed by them. It has never

1. No.-10, not No. 19 as indicated above. See page 19 16—*Kukas of Note in the Punjab*—Compiler.

been discovered who invented these Sakhis, and, as for the Kukas, they have given out that they were recovered from the Badh Tirath Tank."

Sardar Attar Singh, C.I.E., of Bhadaur, thinks that Wariam Singh, Kuka, of Kahn Singhwala, is the author of these spurious prophecies.

It is evident from his letters that Ram Singh believes himself to be the 12th Guru who, with the help of the Russians, is to expel the English from India and re-establish the *Khalsa Raj.* There can be no doubt that the Kukas at large believe in these prophecies, and are looking for the coming of the Russians to deliver them from our rule. This is proved by the investigations in connection with the return from Central Asia, in the end of 1880, of Gurcharan Singh, Kuka, the man who is how living under surveillance at Multan. At page 5 of the printed account of Gurcharan Singh, it is recorded that on the 3rd January 1881, Budh Singh (brother of Ram Singh) met Gulab Khan in the jungle near Bhaini and said "that he and the whole sect were anxiously waiting the time when the Russians would cross the Oxus, as then numbers of Kukas would flock to their standard." The coming of the Russians was quite recently alluded to assembly the Kuka gathering at Sarhali. Again, in the letter from Gulab Khan brought down by Ghulam Mahiudin, at page 4, Ram Charan, Tora, is reported to have given out "that he was going to raise a disturbance in Hindustan * * * * * and that all the Kukas were on his side."

D.E. McCracken,
Asstt. to the Inspt. General of Police,
Punjab Special Branch.

Lahore :
The 31st March 1882

APPENDIX

FINDING OF RELICS AT HARIPUR, IN THE SIRSA DISTRICT.

(Reprint of para 19, page 96, Vol. II., Police Abstract.)

In October 1876, while digging in the bed of the village

tank at Haripur, one Charan Das an Udasi fakir came upon an iron cage, which fell to pieces when exposed. Inside this cage were found a book (pothi), which also fell to pieces from decay; a piece of white marble about 12 inches square, on which were impressions of two small feet, supposed to be those of Guru Nanak when he was a child; and two hukamnamas (orders) by Guru Govind Singh, one of which was perfectly illegible, and the other quite clear and distinct. The finding of these relics, which were beyond doubt genuine as Haripur lies on the road taken by Govind Singh during his fight, was reported to the Deputy Commissioner of Sirsa (Mr. Wakefield), who, knowing Charan Das to be an Udasi and the Haripur villagers to be Vishnois, thought the relics would be safest in the possession of Bhai Nandh Singh, head priest of Guru Govind Singh's temple at Sirsa. He accordingly gave them into Nandh Singh's custody.

The legible hukamnama bore the seal and signature of Guru Govind Singh and worded as follows :

"*Daskhati ar mohr Padshahi Das Guru Govind Singh, Sambat sataran sau Chipanjah (1700 A.D.). Eko ankar satgur parshad, hukamnama bakhshish kita. Jo koi Sikh Sikhni, es charanpat ke nun manega, jatha shakt pujega, uh nehal ho jaiga; jo koi eathie Katak Puneon nun awega, tisnun asi darshan dewange. Katak puneon da vart rakhega, pichhlepahr parshad karega, so nehal hovega. Sat kar manna.*"

Daskhat khas padshahi Das.

The following is a literal translation of the document.—

"Signed and sealed by the tenth Guru, Govind Singh, in Sambat 1756 (1700 A.D.). By the grace of the one true God, this hukamnama was granted. Whoever (whether *Sikh* or Sikhni) believes in this foot impression (charanpat) and worships it, giving offerings according to his means, will be blessed. Whoever comes to the fair on the night of the full moon in the month of *Katak* (October-November) will see me. Whoever will fast that day and feed the poor in the evening, will be blessed. Believe this to be the truth. Signed by the tenth Guru."

Charan Das, disappointed at not being made the custodian of the relics, and wishing to make money out of his discovery, turned Sikh, built a temple at Haripur, and exhibited another set of relics, which he said were the real ones[1], those at Sirsa being fabricating. This new set of relics, which careful inquiries have proved to be false, consisted of a charanpat, similar to the real one, two hukamnamas, a pothi (book), an iron quoit, a sword, and arrow heads, and a seal. The pothi foretold the appearance of Ram Singh, Kuka Guru and one of the hukamnamas stated that the charanpat would be found by an Udasi fakir together with the fact that the charanpat is made of new, glossy white marble, and that the *pothi* and *hukamnamas* give evidence of having been very recently written, proves that relics in the possession of Charan Das are indications. He has, moreover, admitted that the writing in the documents was illegible age, he filled in the appropriate words.

There are at present four mud huts build on the banks of the Badh Tirath (big shrine) tank at Haripur. The one on the south belongs to Charan Das; adjoining this is the house of Narain Singh and Hira Singh, Nihangs of Muktsar; to the north, Mul Singh and Budh Singh, Kukas of Bhaini, Ludhiana, have built a temple; and on the east stands a temple erected by Hanwant Singh Vishnoi. About a mile from the pond, Nand Singh, Kuka, has built a *kachcha* temple, where baptisms are celebrated. Charan Das states that the five buildings above described have been constructed in accordance with directions contained in the second book found by him.

Charan Das established a fair at Haripur in November 1876, for the purpose of exhibiting the relics. This fair was at first largely attended by Kukas, but of late they are

1. —"According to another version Charan Dass, the finder of the relics retained the real ones and surrendered only the fake once to the authorities."—M.M. Ahluwalia, '*KUKAS—The Fr eedom Fighters of the Punjab*', p. 184.

— Sir Atar Singh, Chief of Bahadaur, in his letter to Financial Commissioner, Punjab, mentioned that "Is of opinion that Government could not get an authentic copy of the Kuka Sakhi"—Compiler.

beginning to see through the imposition, and the attendance at the fair is consequently falling off.

(A brief summary of these Sakhis is given—compiler)

Translation of Sakhi No. I

Page I :—That in the year 1201 Hijri (A.D. 1786-87) the Khalsa will triumph.

—That in 1251 Hijri (A.D. 1835-36) the *Mahan Malech* (meaning the English) will come from another country and establish their rule.

—The English will go back after ruling 34 years.

—The 11th Guru will remain unrecognised; the 12th will be born in the family of a Bhais.

The Guru is asked to relate the characteristics of the 12th Guru and the events leading to the expulsion of the *Mahan Malech* (or English), and replies as follows :—

—In 1278 Hijri (A.D. 1861-62) the *Sant Khalsa* (pious Khalas) (the name assumed by the Kukas to distinguish themselves from orthodox Sikhs whom they call *Malech Khalsa* (unclean Khalsa)—will be widely extended.

—Tombs and mosques will be desecrated, and the Sikhs will protect the life of cows.

—In 1288 Hijri (A.D. 1871-72) the true Guru will be exiled.

—The true Guru will return in 5 years and bathe in Ramsar (the tank at Bhaini) and will afterwards go to Badh Tirath (Haripur, in the Sirsa district).

—The Guru is asked : "In what year will the *Mahan Malech* (English) come to this country, and when will they go back to their own country ?"

Page 2.—The 12th Guru will be the most perfect and the greatest; will be born as a carpenter's son ; and will begin his devotions at the age of 5.

—Towards the end of the 13th (Muhammadan) century there will be a *Mahan Malech* (accursed evil-doer), a Christian Raja of an island, who will be very powerful and will banish the 12th Guru (Ram Singh) to a foreign land.

—Destruction of those who harass the Sikhs (Kukas).

—Five years after his banishment, the true Guru will speak from his own mouth, i.e., return.

—His influence will increase in his absence.

—When the ceremony of *Akhand Path* (continuous reading of the Granth right through) has been performed 2½ lakhs of times, the true Guru will return.

—He will remain many years is exile and will convert the people of the land where he is confined (Burmah).

—The sins of the people of Rangoon will be wiped away.

Details regarding the subversion of the British rule :—

—Bishen Singh (the Russian agent at Kabul) will appeal to the Czar of Russia to free the Kukas from the rule of *Mahan Malech* (i.e. the English).

—Russia will stop the road to India (through Egypt).

—War between Russia and Turkey predicted.

Page 3.—Russia will advance on the Punjab.

—In 1295 Hijri (A.D. 1877-78) the Russians will conquer the mountain tract (i.e., the frontier).

—In 1297 Hijri (A.D., 1879-80) Russia will enter the Madar Des (Punjab).

—One year after its conquest by the Russians, the Punjab will be restored by them to the Sikhs.

—About the time of this war the true Guru (Ram Singh) will return.

—Both brothers (Ram Singh and Budh Singh) will become powerful.

—A Sikh will become Delhi Raja (? Ram Singh will become king of India).

—All people will enjoy peace under the *Khalsa Raj.*

—The Khalsa will not be on terms with the *Malech* (i.e., the Kukas will not mix with the orthodox Sikhs ?).

—Bishen Singh and other absentees will meet again.

—The Sikh kingdom will increase in power and gain victories to east, south and west, and will conquer the foreign island.

—The people of the foreign island will fall at Ram Singh's feet.

—Whoever will not believe these prophecies is to be cut off from the congregation.

Religious war foretold.

—The Muhammadans will be killed in great numbers.

—The Khalsa (Sikh) will be the ruling power over the whole earth.

—All this will come to pass at the end of the 13th Muhammadan century, after the year 1293 Hijri (A.D. 1876) has passed.

Sakhi No. II

Page 3.—The great sanctity of the Prahlad Sagar (i.e., the Badh Tirath Tank at Haripur, in the Sirsa district).

Page 4.—The Khalsa Raj will come into power again in the time of the 12th Guru (i.e., in Ram Singh's time), who will be born in the Bhais caste and will appear in the 13th (Muhammadan) century.

—In the year 1251 Hijri (A.D., 1835-36) the *Mahan Malech* will come from the east and the Khalsa will be friendly to them.

—In 1278 Hijri (A.D., 1861-62) the Kuka sect will come into existence.

—For pulling down tombs and mosques and protecting kine, 80 person will lose their lives.

—In 1288 Hijri (A.D., 1871-72) the true Guru will leave his country for a foreign land, but will return in 5 years.

—Not a single *Mahan Malech* will be left alive.

—The *Mahan Malech* will govern for 34 years. Then a *Malech* (? Russian) will come from the west, and there will be a great war. All the kings of the earth will meet and fight in one place.

—There will be such bloodshed at Peshawar that the horses will be up to their girths in blood.

—The same will occur at Lahore, and battles will also take place at Dehra Dun, Kabul, Jammu, Jamrud, Peshawar, Lahore, Firozpur and Ludhiana.

—High and, low alike will be slain, and there will be great confusion throughout the world. At 21½ miles from Delhi, all the *Rajas* will die, and Ram Singh will rule, and all will bow before him. This Ram Singh will be the son of a carpenter.

Page 5.—The Guru will retire to Badh Tirath (Haripur, in the Sirsa district), where all the Khalsa will take up their abode.

The finding of the relics at Haripur foretold, and the signs by which they may be identified noted.

—The golden age will return with Ram Singh's reign.

—Hindus and Muhammadans will both be converted to the Kuka faith.

—The Christians will be destroyed in 1297 Hijri (A.D. 1879-80) and the Muhammadan power wane.

Sakhi No. III

Page 5.—There will be 14 Badshahs in all.

—Baba Balak Ram (Balak Singh of Hazro, founder of the Kuka sect) was the 11th Badshah; Ram Singh and Hari Singh will be the next two.

—The 12th Badshah will be born in Bijapur (Bhaini). Rama was appear as the 12th Guru.

—The 12th Incarnation will destroy the Muhammadans; will take up his residence on the banks of the Sutlej and recover the Sikh treasure lost in that river.

Page 6.—Will establish his rule on the banks of the Sarja (the Gogre) in 1279 (? A.D., 1897-80).

—Asurs (demons—i.e., the English ?) will be destroyed. Only the 4 classes of Hindus will remain.

—The Guru will travel round the world.

—Great misfortunes and slaughter will occur in the hills and to the north.

—Many will die of sickness. Darkness will prevail over Hindustan.

—A calamity will be fall from the east, and the ruler of India will be taken prisoner.

—Arabia will be deserted.

KUKA BARA MAH

No. 1647

From :—C.L. Tupper, Esquire,
Offg. Secretary to the Government of the Punjab
and its Dependencies,

To :—A. Mackezie, Esquire, C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Date Lahore, 27th June 1884.

Home
General

Sir,

In continuation of my confidential letter No. 213-S, of 8th

August 1882, forwarding printed copies of a translation of certain Kuka Sakhis or prophecies, alluded to by Ram Singh, the Kuka leader, in his letters intercepted from time to time between 1878 and 1881, I am desired to submit, for the information of the Government of India, printed copies of a translation of a Bara Mah, or poem, lately found to be in circulation among the Kukas, in which stress is laid on the fear the English have of the Kukas, and the coming of the Russians to expel the English from the Punjab and restore Ram Singh.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Sd/- C.L. Tupper,
Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

SECRET

Bara Mah, A Lyric Poem in Circulation Among the Kukas.

Note by Mr. D.E. McCracken, Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, Special Branch.

Secretary,

I would invite particular attention, especially at the present time, to the translation I submit herewith of the Bara Mah, a poem which was found to be in circulation among the Kukas at the late Baisakhi fair at Amritsar.

The District Superintendent of Police at Amritsar reported that a number of Kukas were assembled at the Kuka dharmsala on the 10th April 1884, and one Dewa Singh of Shahbazpur, in the Firozpur district, was reading this poem to them, and that it caused considerable excitement among his listeners, some beating their breasts, others throwing off their pagris, becoming *mastana* in fact.

This form of poetry is very popular among the people, and it is reported that many copies were distributed by Chanda Singh, and several were made in Amritsar itself.

It expresses the ardent love of the Kukas to their exiled Guru Ram Singh, who is styled the 12th Incarnation.

A poetical account of Ram Singh's visit to Amritsar the butcher murders there on account of kine-killing, and the Kuka rising of 1872 is given, with the Guru's exile and deportation of his Subas (lieutenants).

It is hinted that this measure failed in its intention, as the Subas made converts wherever they were. Burmah was blessed by the advent of the Guru. The return of the Guru is ardently expected—"*the congregation is thirsty for a sight of him.*" His brother (Budh Singh) is waiting for him "*as Bharat waited Rama.*"

"*Kali Mai*" appears to the Guru and says his followers are in want, and bids her go among the Pathans. As she is the goddess of destruction, this can only be a hint for the followers of the Guru to attack the Muhammadans.

The Guru is represented as sending a hukamnana (written order) to Russia telling the Czar he is ordered by God to conquer Lahore for the Khalsa. The Czar consults his Minister and after some hesitation his army is ordered to advance.

Bishen Singh, the Kuka Suba in Central Asia of whom mention was lately made as being at Samarkand, is spoken of as having a large following and as making preparations. He is evidently well known to the sect.

The Pathans will rise when the English retire before the Russian advance to defend Lahore. The Russians will enter the Punjab, and dire calamities will follow. Then the Guru will return and establish his kingdom, and faith and piety will prevail throughout the world. Whoever reads this *Bara Mah* will obtain salvation.

The English throughout are spoken of as feating "the Singhs," i.e. Kukas.

Donalde, McCracken,
Asstt. to the Inspector-General of
Police Punjab, Special
Branch.

Simla:
The 8th May 1884.

SECRET

Translation of the Kuka Bara Mah.[1]

By the grace of the one true Guru. Salutation to the Sat Guru.

Prostrating myself at the feet of the Sat Guru, I compose this Bara Mah. Help me, O Sat Guru.'

Ganpat[2] Gauran,[3] and Sarda[4] all lay themselves at the feet of the Guru.

Nanak says, a person without the bhajan (i.e., an irreligious person) is worthless.

The Sat Guru was incarnate in the splendid town of Hajro.

Those who interview him are freed from all pain.

The illustrious light of the world arose in the mildst of *Guru-Ram-Das-Puri* (i.e., Bhaini).

Those who have sought his protection will obtain salvation without fail.

In the beginning of the month of *Chet*[5] I felt dejected.
I earnestly longed to go to the Guru.
And pray to him with folded hands.
Keep me with thee and grant me a place at thy feet.
I am a sinful girl.
I became beside myself with love for thee.
And I left off spinning my wheel.

Forsaking my home I was quite alone, and people said I had lost my senses ;

I could take no delight in anything.
I am thy sacrifice.

1. A Lyric poem relating different events in connection with each Hindu calendar month.
2. The Hindu God Shiva.
3. The wife of Shiva, also known as Parbati.
4. More commonly called the goddess Durga.
5. March-April.

After a diligent search, I found my merciful Guru in Ram-Das-puri.

Communicating the *sabads*,[1] he dispenses bliss.
He cuts off the snares of birth and death.
I am saved by the Sat Guru.
Listen to me, O poius people !
I longed to receive the bhajan,
And for this purpose I visited the Sat Guru.
After much entreaty I received the bhajan.
This caused a quarrel in the household;
My mother-in-law called me names,
She reproached me for paying visits to the Kukas.
Chet having passed, *Bisakh*[2] began.

There were rejoicings in the houses of the Sikhs and *sabads* were more frequently recited.

As soon as *Bisakh* commenced, the Singhs made preparations to perform *bhogs*, and wrote to the other Singhs, saying "Come and honor your slaves with your presence."

They sang the praises of the Guru, celebrated bhogs[3], prepared *Karah parsad*,[4] and became enraptured with joy.

The Singhs hold bhogs in every house, and the congregations gathered there.

The musicians sang charming songs, which produced a state of frenzy.

With loose hair they exulted;
They lay down on the floor.
This was pleasing to the Sat Guru.
They are indeed fortunate who attend the meetings.
Even the greatest ascetics have shed tears on hearing the *sabads*.

Those alone who earnestly wish to view these things, can see them.

1. Verses from the Granth.
2. April-May.
3. Complete recital of the Granth.
4. Sweetmeat made of flour, ghi and sugar,

As Bhai Chanda Singh suggests,
Let us live in *Guru-Ram-Das-Puri*,

And let us see with our own eyes the Sat Guru who recites the sabads there, and thereby obtain happiness. When *Jath*[1] set in, the English wrote to London.

That the Singhs cared for no one but *Akal* (God) alone. The sun is getting hot in *Jeth*, and the English confer with one another and say "These Singhs do not fear us."

Being *mastana*[2] they shout in the streets.
"They fear no one but God."

When the Sat Guru came to Amritsar,
The English made arrangements for his reception.

The Singhs spread their own carpets when they came.

The people paid their homage and presented cash.

The Sat Guru then graciously recited the sabads.

The Sat Guru also ordered that his sangat[3] should shout "Akal."

Thereupon the English were terrified, and trembled exceedingly.

They enquired whether any body could prevent (the Singhs) from Shouting "Akal."

Chanda Singh is a sacrifice to the Guru, who caused wonders to come to pass.

All the priests calumniated the Sat Guru, being blinded with the offerings of the temple.

They will suffer in their turn when they fall into the hands of the Guru.

Jeth having passed, the sun grew hotter still.

The Guru directed the Khalsa to bathe and dip their heads in water.

1. May-June.
2. In a state of religious frenzy.
3. Congregations,

At the commencement of *Har*,[1] the Singhs offer cooling drinks when they meet one another. They recite sabads playing on drums, and pour out nectar from their lips, thus contributing to make the party a success.

While the drums are being played and the cymbals clapped, the sabads effect the heart and make the girls flutter like doves, and dance freely with their hair loose around their necks, presenting a beautiful spectacle.

Devout Singhs also attend the meeting, fan and shampoo the congregation, relieve their fatigue, offer them drinks of water, clean vessels and serve them. Thus they shine in the meeting, when they sing the attributes of *Hari* (God.)

Listen, O Bhai Chanda Singh! let us seek the protection of the Guru, and ask him to grant us the treasure of the *nam*,[2] for without the bhajan our existence will be useless.

This is very desirable.

Har having passed, *Sawan*[3] commenced.

The Guru ordered the Khalsa that all girls and grown-up men should wear the *kachh*.[4]

At the commencement of Sawan the English hold councils, and say that they fear the Singhs, since they create disturbances.

The English then asked the Sat Guru to remain at his home, and the latter consented to their words, telling them that they need not be uneasy, and assuring them that the decree of God was sure to be fulfilled.

Once upon a time there was a proud Raja named Kans.

He sent his sister to prison.

The astrologers foretold his ruin by her offspring.

1. June-July.
2. Synonymous with sabad.
3. July-August.
4. Short drawers worn by the Sikhs.

The lightning flashed when Krishna was incarnated.
Krishna killed the Raja Kans.

O Bhai Chanda Singh ! hear the plain truth.

The Sat Guru, although away from home, has deputed the Subas, who have been his companions from the very beginning and during the *Yugs*[1] to go to all countries and carry on their mission.

This is the commandment of God.
Sawan having ended, *Bhadon*[2] commenced.
The Guru is all powerful,
But the people are in the wrong path.

The Guru removed all doubts and scepticism during Bhadon.

The Singhs approached the Sat Guru, and rendered him services which were accepted.

He gave the choicest gifts to his Khalsa.

He made some Singhs *bihangams*,[3] and sent them to different parts of the country in order to cause the people to commit *sabad-bani*[4] to memory.

The Sat Guru arranged every house to serve as a free kitchen, so that nobody should remain without food.

Calumniators bring innumerable false accusations against the Khalsa.

The chiefs and leaders bear tales to the Government and stand guilty before *Dharm Raj*[5].

Thay will all go to hell.

Hear, O simple Bhai Chanda Singh ! the Singhs, who perform the Bhajan secretly, become mastana; some are absorbed in meditations in out-of-the-way places, and some are loud in the praises of *Hari* (God.).

1. Four ages according to the Hindus,
2. August-September.
3. Wandering Kukas.
4. Verses and passages from the Granth.
5. The Angle of Death.

How am I to know those who are acceptable to him?

In the month of *Asu*[1] we recognized the perfect Guru, who is an incarnation.

The Guru initiated piety, and acclamations of joy were heard throughout the world.

During Asu I hoped to see with my own eyes the Guru who had granted me all spiritual and wordly treasures.

Those who have the Guru on their side care for no one.

O Sat Guru ! save us, for thou are great, and we have sought thy protection.

Having girded up his loins, the Sat Guru will mount a horse escorted by the Singhs.

The sun and moon will be overawed by his glory.

Mastanas will move about carrying clubs like the monkey army of Rama advancing on Lanka.

Sat Guru having mounted a horse, his Subas will accompany him and appear as beautiful as a row of swans, and the procession will present the spectacle of the halo round the moon; a marriage party round the bridegroom or an army its leader.

Who can conceive the glory of this incarnation ?

Hear, O fellow disciple, Bhai Chanda Singh! the Sat Guru has formed his own congregations.

Persons from four different classes have joined in common brotherhood.

The beads adorn their necks, and the *Khandas* (small knives) their heads, just as the crescent mark beautifies the head of Shiva.

The praise of the high Guru cannot be described.

The Guru assumes incarnations in all the *Yugs* with a view to preserving piety in the world.

1. September-October.

The calumniators are to be punished one and all.

In the month of *Katak*[1] the Guru promoted faith and piety.

The Guru put in the right path those who had missed it, enforced the true creed, and prohibited the use of wine, meat, and blue clothes.

The English were afraid of the Singhs and considered that they would endanger the public peace.

The Singhs bathed at the last watch of the night, recited the bani attentively, razed tombs and carins to the ground. The Sat Guru presided at the Diwan.[2] The Singhs sang "*Asa di var*" (y).

This rendered some Singhs mastana, shouting aloud.

The Sat Guru issued another order and read it to the sangat.

The malechhas from London have established slaughter-houses, which grieves us to the heart.

The Singhs should give up their lives in the name of God. O Chand Singh ! in accordance with the Guru's orders, the Singhs girded up their loins, and became martyrs.

Those who believed in the words of the Guru gave up their lives for the sake of religion. They made use of their arms, and levelled the butchers to the ground. They cut the noose from the neck of the cow ; and for this act of piety the God shouted with joy.

The back-biters slandered the Singhs and caused them to be arrested. Who can avoid the decree of the ten Gurus ?

At the beginning of *Maghar*[4] the cold has set in. Those that love the Guru are uneasy. They identify themselves with

1. October-November.
2. Public assembly.
3. Ode from the Granth.
4. November-December.

the true word, and, remembering it, wash away the filth of their minds. They bear the Guru in mind.

I am a sacrifice to the Singhs, who carry out the words of Guru, who bathe dipping their heads in water, and who bear the Guru in mind.

They save themselves as well as their families.

Those who obey the orders of the Guru do not undergo transmigration of souls, but will obtain a seat among the martyrs. The Sat Guru, who is the source of all happiness, will guide them.

O Chanda Singh ! the Guru has allowed a wonderful State of things. He has made some *mukhbirs* (informers) who move about like mad dogs, catching hold of the Singhs, wherever they meet them, and who are driven away in disgrace when they sit in front of the *langars* (free kitchens).

As the month of *Poh*[1] began, the cold became severe, and the singing of the sabads caused the Singhs to be mastana.

In the midst of the forst of Poh the Sat Guru issued an order. He invited all the Subas and congregations, urging them to come to Rampur (Bhaini) without delay, in order to be present at the next *Magh Mela*.

The Singhs kissed the order when they received it, and were exceedingly delighted. They consulted as to who should go and who should remain behind.

All the Singhs of *Malwa*, *Manjha*, *Darap*,[2] and the Bar, as wall as the Jumna, Sardars, prepared themselves for the journey, and attended the meeting.

The future is in the hands of God.

Matrons and girls and thousands of others cast their ornaments and jewels for the Guru.

O Chanda Singh! all the Singhs came, and the cooks of the Sat Guru cauldrons of food for all. The Singhs performed Bhogs and were entertained, with *Karah Parsad*.

1. December-January.
2. The neighbourhood of Jammu and Sialkot is so called.

The Singhs then performed a *Hom*[1] and advanced on Maler Kotla undaunted in their courage.

The Singhs marched to become martyrs for faith.

The Sat Guru himself started for a foreign country.

As *Magh*[2] began, the spring set in. The Sat Guru invited all the Mahants from different places. All of them attended and paid homage to the Guru.

The latter received them with kindness, giving them seats in the Diwan.

The Singhs took their seats in the Diwan, remembering the words of the Guru and meditating on them.

As the Guru discoursed, the Singhs became mastana, and, taking the Guru for Gobind Singh, prostrated themselves at his feet.

The Sat Guru is the perfect incarnation of the Deity, who has yet to work wonders.

He has adopted the 12th garb[3] to save the world.

He has saved those who have believed in his words.

O Chanda Singh ! The Singhs grew violent, and insisted on invading Maler Kotla.

They determined to revenge themselves on the Pathans.

The Singhs joined the martyrs, and the Sat Guru started for a foreign country.

The Sangats left for their own homes.

When *Fagan*[4] commenced, the Sat Guru was grieved in mind.

As Sita and Lachhman accompanied Rama in his exile, so Nanu Singh[5] accompanied the Guru.

1. Burnt offerings.
2. January-February.
3. i.e., he has become manifest as the 12th incarnation.
4. February-March.
5. Resident of Rurki in the Patiala state; the Kuka who accompanied Guru Ram Singh to Burmah of his own free will as his attendant.

The Guru's brother was left behind like Rama's brother, Bharat.

I am sacrificed to the Singhs for the misfortunes they have undergone.

The English feared greatly, and anxiety prevailed in London. They deported the Subas to different places.

Wherever the Subas went, the people received the bhajan, for the Guru's order is, that the whole country is to receive equal blessings.

There is no comfort without the Sat Guru; all the Singhs are grieved. The Singhs do not enjoy their sleep, and keep awake all night in anxiety. They do not find any relish in their food. Grief for the Guru is eating up their vitals.

Who will cause the Guru to meet me, so that I may make offerings to him?

I am sacrificed to the Guru.

O Chanda Singh ! the Guru went to Burmah;

The sea with folded hands prostrated itself at his feet, and was rejoiced at its good luck in seeing him;

Fortune smiled on the country whither the Guru went.

Whoever will keep up the memory of the Guru, will have his transgressions forgiven.

Whoever has sought an interview with him, will go to Heaven.

The Sat Guru went to a foreign country. This made the congregation wear soiled clothes, and be sorrowful.

O Sat Guru ! come to thy native land, and return here on any day thou mayest choose to do so.

The beloved Singhs of the Guru, who have crossed the seas, look for thee, O Sat Guru, repeating thy name on their beads.

O Sat Guru! many years have passed away since thou separated thyself from us.

All the congregations wait for thee just as Rama was expected by the natives of Mathra (? Ayudhya).

May the light of the Guru shine brilliantly!

The time to meet has come.

The congregations are thirsty for a sight of thee.

Like Bharat, the brother is waiting (for the Sat Guru).

O Ragpat! (Rama) let us see thee now.

Mother Atri[1] who is yet a spinster, is sacrificed on thy feet;

She sits at the top of houses waiting to see thee.

Show her thy face, considering her to be thy slave.

Bibi Nandan,[2] our sister, has no rest without her father. She weeps bitterly and asks the people when she may expect to embrace the Sat Guru.

One day, while all were seated with their attentions fixed on the Guru.

Kali Mata[3] with folded hands approached the Guru.

She said, "My followers are hungry and need the necessaries of life."

On this, she was ordered to go into the midst of the Pathans,

Narad[4] was also commanded to excite strife in their country.

The Sat Guru further remarked that the martyrs had already been sent by him to fetch Russia, with instructions to deliver the order of Akal to her, and compel her to obey it.

Having delivered the hukamnama (order) to the messenger, the Guru asked him to communicate the following message to Russia: "Thou are ordered by God to conquer Lahore for us."

1. Mussammat Atri, Kuki, of Khanna-Maisar in Patiala. Ram Singh, on being asked, repudiated her, and said she was never even betrothed to him.
2. Ram Singh's daughter.
3. The goddess of blood.
4. A proverbial Hindu personage noted for inciting strife among parties.

When the Czar held his court, he called his minister, and offering him a seat (told him) that during the night he saw the Khalsa in a vision, at which he was alarmed, as they had asked him to march on Lahore.

The minister, on hearing this, reflected that the journey would prove arduous and hazardous; however, he ordered preparations to be made for the march of the army, with the drums beating.

When the Russian troops invade the country, agitation will prevail in London, and the British army will march to India.

Many battles will be fought, and lamentations will be the order of the day; mothers will weep for the sons of their wombs, and wives for their husbands.

Bishen Singh[1] the Guru's precious jewel and martyr, who has a large following, has entered into negotiations with others, who have expressed their readiness to join him.

The future rests with God.

The Pathans will rise when they see that the English have withdrawn themselves from Peshawar to defend Lahore. They will take counsel together, but the decree of God will surely be fulfilled.

When the Russians enter the Punjab, famine will rage and make havoc in the country. People will die in terribly large numbers, and crime will be without limit.

He alone will be saved, who will seek the protection of the Guru and devote his whole attention to God.

The Sat Guru will then return to the Punjab and disestablish all former systems and set up new standards, causing the name of God to be repeated by everyone, even the demons.

The Sat Guru, Ram Singh, the perfect incarnation, has manifested himself.

1. The Kuka Suba, originally described as of Kabul, now said to be at Samarkand.

He has by his grace formed the *Sant Khalsa*[1] (Pure Khalsa)
In the Darbar of the Sat Guru, the drum of faith and piety will repeat Akal.

The hero Chanda Singh lives in Saharan with Diwan Singh.

The writer, Chanda Singh, is one of the humblest slaves, and the congregation is requested to forgive him for his omissions.

Believe this Bara Mah of the Sat Guru to be *Gur bilas*[2] (an account of the Guru).

Whoever will read or hear this Bara Mah of the Sat Guru attentively, will obtain the treasure of the true name (salvation) and the support of the Sat Guru.

Whoever will shout "*Sat Siri Akal*" (True is the Glorious God) will obtain the happiness.

---

1. The name by which the Kukas style their sect to distinguish it from the general body of Sikhs.
2. Name of a Sikh book, a history of the 10 Guru.

BANARASI DAS, KUKA : GURU OF MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH

Extract from Political Abstract of Punjab Special Bureau.

The following particulars regarding a fakir named Banarsi Das, are published for the information of police officers in the Punjab:—

Banarsi Das is a Khatri by caste and was originally a resident of Lucknow. About 35 years ago he and his brother Mangi Lal removed to Benares, where the latter died, leaving three sons at Lucknow, named respectively Manu Lal. Basheshar Nath, and Banarasi, one whom is employed as a teacher in some school at Allahabad. After his brother's death, Banarasi Das went to Calcutta and became a Sanyasi fakir and used to write poetry. He had several chelas there and at other places. Five or six years ago he went to England to present a petition to the Queen-Empress, praying that the slaughter of cows in India might be prohibited. It is said that he was the Guru of Maharaja Dalip Singh and lived with him for a short time in England. On his return he visited Benares and exhibited a cap worked in gold of the value of about Rs. 100, and said that he had received it as a present from Her Majesty. In 1882, under the name of Banarasi Gir, he was reported to be itinerating in the Hindu States in Central India and Rajputana for the purpose of agitating against cow-killing, and in June 1884 was noticed at Delhi, where he attended a meeting of the Gauraksha (cow-protection) Society at the house of Kidar Nath, School-master, and gave recitations in presence of large numbers of people at the bathing ghats. From Delhi Banarasi Das appears

to have gone to Jammu to interview the Maharaja, and it was surmised that his visit was connected with the Gauraksha meetings which were being held at Delhi and elsewhere. He was next heard of in Mirut, where, in March 1886, he was sent for trial under Section 332, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, or, in default of payment, to a further term of three months. Whilst in jail he feigned madness, which was disproved by medical evidence. He was released unconditionally at the Jubilee on the 16th February 1887, and proceeded to Calcutta, where he at once attracted the attention of the police by daily preaching sedition in the Sikh quarter of the town, the drift of his discourses being that Dalip Singh had joined the Russians, was now at Herat, and was about to invade India through Kashmir, and that all Sikhs should hold themselves in readiness to join him and restore the kingdom of Ranjit Singh. In Calcutta Banarasi Das was known as "Banarasi Babu" and was described as a Kuka Sikh. Finding the surveillance of the police irksome he left Calcutta and joined Sardar Thakur Singh, Sindhanwalia, at Pondicherry, and is believed to be there still. Banarasi Das has the reputation among respectable Hindus of being a man of great sanctity, and possesses considerable influence in consequence. He is constantly travelling about, and has temples or maths in most cities and towns of the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. His descriptive roll is as follows:—Sallow complexion; broad forehead ; round face; short hair, small beard on chin only ; clipped moustaches, small scar on left breast, short and stout, age about 60 years.—(C.P.O.)

Dated Simla, the 16th September 1884 (demi-official).

From:—Colonel, E.R. Bradford, C.S.I.,

To:—C. Grant, Esq., C.S.I.

In continuation of my demi-official letter of the 4th August on the subject of the kine-killing agitation, Mr. Saunders says that the Ajmere Police state that the itinerant Fakir Banarsi Gir visited Pohkar last year, but he says the report is not born out by independent enquiries, and he is inclined to discredit it.

Demi-Official

Dated Dehra, the 15th April 1887.

From:—Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, K.C.I.E.

To—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.

Herewith copy of a letter regarding the activity of a man described as Maharaja Dalip Singh's Guru, which has been forwarded to me by Bayley. His Excellency wishes to have your opinion as to whether this man should not be arrested.

Demi-Official

Police Office, Calcutta, the 11th April 1887.

From:—Sir H.L. Harrison.

To:—F.B. Peacock, Esq.

There is a man called Banarasi Babu, a Kuka Sikh now in Calcutta, living in the Sikh quarter and daily preaching sedition. He was the Guru of Dalip Singh, and lived with him for a short time in England.

The drift of his discourses is that Dalip Singh has joined the Russians, that he is now at Herat, that he is going to invade India via Kashmir shortly, and that all Sikhs ought to hold themselves in readiness to join him, and restore the kingdom of Ranjit Singh.

He was before, in 1885 and 1886, and was always kept under observation. Last year he returned to the Punjab and was arrested for collecting arms and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. He got out on the Jubilee, and is now jubilating in Calcutta.

I doubt if it is worth doing anything to him—he most likely does as little mischief here as anywhere. He keeps up a correspondence with Dalip Singh and is supposed to make collections for him, which go to pay the latter's hotel bills at Paris, no doubt !

I do not propose to do anything except keep an eye on his movements, unless Government think otherwise.

Demi-Official

Dated Debra, the 18th April 1887.

From:—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.,
To:—The Hon'ble J.B. Lyall.

Please see enclosed.* Do you think the man worth apprehending?

*Demi-Official from Sir Henry Harrison to F.B. Peacock, Esq., dated the 11th April 1887.

The Viceroy thinks there was some condition with regard to these Jubilee releases which would give us a legal power of arrest without resorting to Regulation III of 1818. I know nothing about this—but if there was anything of the kind it would simplify matters.

Demi-Official

Dated Simla, the 23rd April 1887.

From:—Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, K.C.I.E.,
To:—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.

Bayley informs me that the Kuka preacher is now making preparations to go to Pondicherry; so if you intend to do anything, you had better look sharp.

MacDonnell tells me that all who were released on Jubilee day were released on condition of remaining in their villages, and that anyone not complying with this condition may be re-arrested.

Demi-Official

Dated Police Office, Calcutta, the 14th April 1887.

From:—A.B. Barnard, Esq.
To:—F.B. Peacock, Esq.

The Banarasi* Babu is now making arrangements to go to Pondichery, where he will go to Thakur Singh, the Sardar, who left the Punjab for French territory when Dalip Singh was stopped at Aden.

*The Kuka preacher of sedition.

TELEGRAM, dated the 23rd April 1887.

From :—Foreign Secretary, Simla.

To :—Lieutenant-Governor, Lahore.

The Kuka about whom I wrote to you is now preparing to go to Pondichery. I am told the conditions of his release permit re-arrest. Shall we arrest him ? Please answer early.

TELEGRAM, dated the 23rd April 1887.

From :—Private Secretary to Viceroy, Simla.

To :—Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Belvedere, Calcutta.

Your letter* of 19th instant. Viceroy is informed that person‡ in question was liberated on Jubilee day on condition of returning at once to his home, and not leaving it without permission of the authorities. If this is correct, he is disregarding conditions of liberation, and Viceroy considers he should be re-arrested.

*Not received in office.

‡Guru of Dalip Singh, a Kuka.

TELEGRAM, dated the 24th April 1887.

From :—Lieutenant-Governor, Lahore.

To :—Foreign Secretary, Simla.

Your telegram of the twenty-third. His release was unconditional. If he is supposed to be taking considerable funds to Pondichery, he might be arrested ; otherwise, I think he will do less harm there than elsewhere.

TELEGRAM, dated the 24th April 1887.

From :—Private Secretary to Viceroy, Simla.

To :—Lieutenant-Governor, Bengal, Belvedere.

My telegram of last night. Punjab informs us that release* was unconditional. Under these circumstances Viceroy thinks the man had better be left alone.

*Of the Guru of Dalip Singh, a Kuka.

Demi-Official

Dated Simla, the 27th May 1887.

From :—W.M. Young, Esq.,

To :—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.

You will remember writing demi-officially from Dehra to Mr. Lyall on the 18th April 1887, and enclosing a copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal about a Kuka called "Banarasi Babu," who was said to be daily preaching sedition in the Sikh quarter of Calcutta.

You wished to know whether this man's release at the Jubilee was conditional or not ; and on the 23rd April 1887 you telegraphed that the man was preparing to go to Pondichery, and asked for early information as to whether the conditions of his release permitted of his re-arrest.

To this telegram His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor replied the following day that the release was unconditional, but that if he was supposed to be taking considerable funds to Pondichery he might be arrested; otherwise Mr. Lyall thought he might do less harm there than elsewhere.

In the demi-official letter of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, it was stated that "Banarasi Babu" returned to the

Punjab in 1886, and was arrested for collecting arms and sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

We endeavoured on this clue to obtain further information respecting this individual, and finally discovered that his real name was Banarasi Das, Khatri; that he was a resident of Allahabad; that he was well known in all the large towns of Upper India; and that it was at Mirut and not in the Punjab that he was convicted in March 1886.

I now enclose, for your information, a copy of a report sent by the Magistrate of Mirut to MacCracken, which gives all that they know there about this man.

Copy of a report, Mirut, the 17th May 1887.

On the 18th March 1886 Baldeo Sahai, Assistant Surgeon, attached to the Mirut City Dispensary, reported at the police station that Banarasi Das, fakir, aided by three of his disciples, had thrown down a portion of the Dispensary boundary wall and had dismantled a latrine situated within the boundary, and that they were armed with swords and pistols and were threatening to kill all who approached. The police went promptly to the spot and disarmed and arrested the fakir and his followers. Banarasi Das was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Section 3 12. Indian Penal Code, and to a fine of Rs. 100, and in default of payment to a further term of three months. His followers were sentenced to various short terms under Sections 446 and 332, Indian Penal Code. This man Banarasi Das is said to be a Khatri by caste and to be a resident of Allahabad. He is said to be a man of great influence with respectable Hindus, who look up to him as a person of great sanctity. Banarasi Das has been to England, but I cannot say whether it was in the capacity of Guru to Maharaja Dalip Singh. He travels constantly and has temples or Maths in most cities or towns of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. His Math in Mirut adjoined the City Dispensary, and during his absence, which was of some duration, a new boundary wall was built by the Civil Surgeon.

There was some litigation before the fakir's return by the temple people which did not result in their favour. On Banarasi Das's return it is said he consulted with some Hindu Raises of the town, and it is believed that it was at their instigation he had resort to arms. The sword and pistol were supposed to have been supplied by the said Raises ; but during the enquiry nothing was proved against them. Minute investigation into this point was not considered advisable at the time.

Banarasi Das is not a native of the Punjab, although he may be a Sikh by religion. As in Calcutta all respectable people are known as Babus, this man probably has assumed the title. In the North-Western Provinces he is known as plain Banarasi Das. Whilst in Jail he feigned madness, which was disproved by the evidance of the Civil Surgeon. He was released from imprisonment at the Jubilee on 16th February last, and has not been since heard of in Mirut.

It is said that Banarasi Das and his brother were sent up for trial at Allahabad for uttering false coin. The brother was convicted, but Banarasi Das escaped punishment.

Demi-Official

Dated Simla, the 26th August 1887.

From :—W.M. Young, Esq., C.S.,

To :—H.M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I.

In my demi-official letter of the 27th May last some information was given regarding a Kuka known as Banarasi Babu. It has now been reported to us from Calcutta that this man left Calcutta on the 16th July for Patna whence he proceeded to Mozafferpur. The latter place he left at the end of last month, and is said to have gone to Nepal for the purpose of visiting the shrine of Pasupatinath.

Demi-Official

Dated Simla, the 30th August 1887 (Confidential).

From :—H.M. Durand, C.S.I.

To :—C. Girdleston, Esq.

A Kuka known as Banarasi Babu, or Banarasi Das, who is said to have been a Guru of Dalip Singh, and to have been with the Maharaja in England, has recently been preaching in Calcutta regarding Dalip Singh's intended return to India, with the help of Russia, and warning the Sikhs to hold themselves in readiness to join the Maharaja.

He only returned to India last year and was imprisoned at Mirut for violently resisting with arms in his hands an alleged encroachment on the grounds of his temple. He was released on the occasion of the Jubilee and went to Calcutta, which place he left on the 16th July for Patna, whence he proceeded to Mozafferpur. The latter station he is said to have left at the end of last month for the purpose of visiting the shrine of Pasupatinath in Nepal.

You might have him watched, of find out what he has been doing. He is in correspondence with Dalip Singh, and is supposed to be collecting funds for the Maharaja. It is desirable not to lose sight of him, and I should be glad to have information of his movements.

TELEGRAM, dated the 9th September 1887.

From :—The Resident, Nepal, through Segowli.

To :—Foreign Secretary, Simla.

Demi-Official. Your demi-official, dated 30th August last. Please send me descriptive roll of person named therein.

Demi-Official

Dated Simla, the 10th September 1887.

From :—Colonel P.D. Henderson, C.B.I.

To:—D. McCracken, Esq.,

Have you any personal description of Banarasi Das ? If not I had better write to Magistrate, Mirut.

Demi-Official

Dated Benmore, Simla, the 10th September 1887.

From :— D.McCracken, Esq.,

To :—Colonel P.D. Henderson, C.S.I.

The Magistrate of Mirut sent me the following descriptive roll :—"Sallow complexion ; broad forehead ; round face; short hair; small beard on chin only; clipped moustaches ; small scar on left breast ; short and stout ; age about 60 years." See end of paragraph 33, page 144, Secret Police Abstract No. 28 of 16th July 1887, where all the information about the Banarasi Das is given that I collected by writing to District Superintendents of Police, Mirut, Allahabad, and Benares, this last spring,

---

Demi-Official

Dated Simla, the 10th September 1887.

From ;—Colonel P.D. Henderson, C.S.I.,

To :—C.E.R. Girdlestone, Esq.

I reply to your telegram of yesterday to Foreign Secretary, I send you the following description of Banarasi Das given by the Magistrate of Mirut.

Demi-Official

Dated Lucknow, the 18th September 1887.

From :—Colonel A. Ollivant,

I am in receipt of your letter* of the 8th September and will have Banarasi Das, the religious mendicant, watched if I hear of his return to these provinces.

*Not received in office

Will you kindly let me know where Segowli, the town in which the Postmaster and signaller are supposed to have tampered with his telegrams, is ? The only place of that name that I can find is in Bengal.

CENSUS OF INDIA—1891 : VOLUME XIX : PART-I

PUNJAB AND ITS FEUDATORIES

By E.D. Maclegan

110. The Kuka rising of 1872.—In 1872 occurred the Kuka outbreak at Maler Kotla, which is described as follows in the Ludhiana Gazetteer:—

"On the 13th January 1872 there was a meeting of Kukas at Bhaini, and a gang of about 150 of these after working themselves up into a state of religious frenzy started off under the leadership of two Jats of Sukraundi in Patiala territory. Ram Singh informed the police of their intention to do some mischief, saying that he had no control over them, but it was considered sufficient to see them out of our territory. They were armed with axes, sticks, etc., only and are said to have declared that the town of Maler Kotla would be the object of their attack. They went to Pad in Patiala territory without causing any disturbance, and reappeared next day near to Malauh, the seat of Sardar Badan Singh, on which they made a sudden onset, with the idea, probably, of getting arms and money. They are said to have wanted the Sardar to lead them. In the attack two men were killed on each side and a few wounded, and the gang succeeded in securing three horses, one gun and one sword. No one joined them anywhere on their march, and they never numbered more than 150 men at the outside. They next proceeded to Kotla, which is nine miles off from Malaudh, and on the morning of the 15th made a sudden attack on the palace and treasury of the Nawab, but were driven off when the Kotla guards had recovered from their surprise and pursued to Rurr, in the Patiala territory,

where to the number of 68 they surrendered to the Patiala authorities. At Malaudh and Kotla they had killed 10 men and wounded 17, while their own loss had been 9 killed and 38 wounded. On getting the news of the attacks on Malandh and Kotla, Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, started for the latter place and telegraphed for troops, which arrived soon after Mr. Cowan executed by blowing from guns 49 of the captured men, and the others were tried by the Commissioner (Mr. Forsyth). Thus ended the Kuka outbreak of 1872. If the Kukas had ever any plan for a rising they must have been completely upset by these insane proceedings of a body of fanatics rushing about the country armed with sticks and axes. The people of the villages through which they passed appear to have been scared by them, and the inhabitants of Rurr, where they were captured, deserted their houses in a body at the approach of the band. Of course Ram Singh and his doctrines were responsible for what had happened, and he had become a danger to the State, as similar disturbances might be created at any time by his followers."

He was at once deported: and died in 1887 or 1888 at Rangoon. The Dera is now conducted by Budh Singh, his brother.

111. **The Kukas of to-day:**—The sect is known by the name of the "Kukas" or "Shouters," because, unlike the ordinary Sikhs, they permit themselves to fall into a state of Wajad or frenzy during their religious exercises, shaking their heads and reciting their prayers in a loud voice. They finish prayer with a loud cry of "Sat Sri Akal"—"God is true," and their religious meetings are said to have often ended in disgusting orgies. They differ also from the Sikhs generally in the manner of wearing the turban (*sidha pag*) and in carrying a necklace of woollen cord tied in knots, which serve as beads for prayer.

The Kukas will often try to conceal the fact of their belonging to this sect and many of them call themselves "Namdhari."[1]

1. The term Namdhari is common about Sialkot, etc., and Kuka about Ludhiana and its neighbourhood.

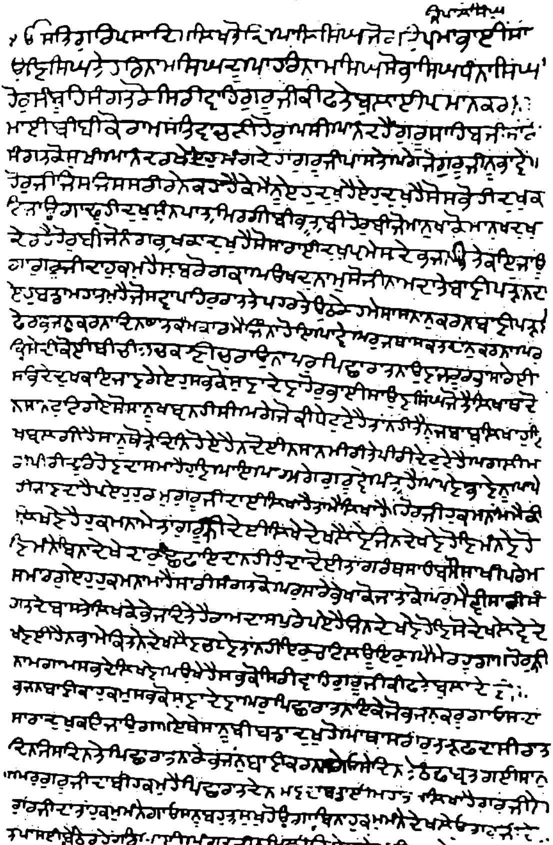
Kukas Hindu......	690.	
" Sikh......	10,541.	
" Mussalmans	5	

Our returns include all persons so returned, but the figures resulting appear to be higher than one would otherwise have expected. It is possible that the doctrines of the sect are in some places assuming a milder and more open form, but it is not unlikely that there has been a confusion in our returns between those who were returned as Kuka and those who entered themselves as followers of *Guga* the two words being identical in the vernacular cursive. This would account for a good many of the Hindu Kukas. I have allowed the five Mussalman Kukas to stand, having met a person who knew personally one of them, but I am unable to suggest what the form of faith held by such any one may be. The districts and states from which more than a thousand Kukas have been returned are Jalandhar, Firozpur, Patiala, Amritsar, Sialkot and Gujranwala, and this my be taken as indicating fairly well the area in which the sect is prevalent, although the figures in each case may be far from correct. These outward sings are, however, not so commonly worn as they used to be; and a dispensation is easily obtained from the Dera to Abandon the straight pagri and to wear the woollen necklace under, instead of over, the clothing. **They are also supposed to avoid meat and spirits of all kinds: and they allow marriage outside the caste.** They have also a belief in Govind Singh as the only Guru and in his incarnation as Ram Singh, and look forward to the establishment of the Khalsa as a temporal dominion. **Many of them refuse to believe in the death of Ram Singh and expect his reappearance. In other respects they are merely a puritanical Sikh sect of the school of Gobind, with a more marked hatred of Mahomedans, butchers and tobacco than that held by most Sikhs. In Sirsa, where there is a small colony of them under the command of one of Ram Singh's immediate adherents, they are looked on with some contempt by their Sikh neighbours as harmless fanatics, but are credited with a purer morality and a stricter regard for truth than most people.** They have or had til lately a small dharmsala in the Moti Bazar at Lahore, where they would assemble of an evening to sing religious songs.

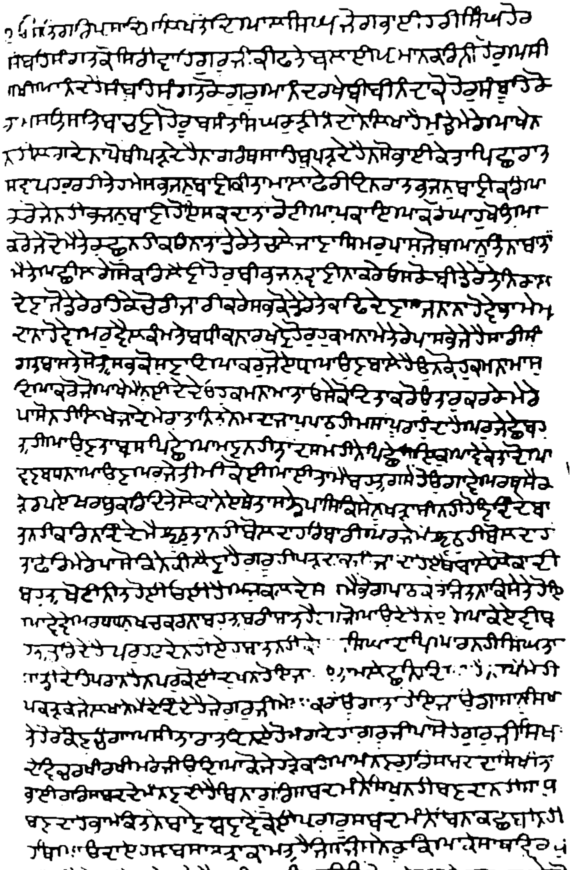
HUKAMNAMAS (Letters)

from

GURU RAM SINGH



Letter from Guru Ram Singh to the Sikh Sangat.
(Courtesy : National Archives of India



Letter from Guru Ram Singh to Guru Hari Singh ji
(Courtesy : National Archives of India)

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ

ਬਰਮਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਨਜ਼ਰਬੰਦੀ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਲਿਖੇ ਗਏ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਿਆਂ (ਪਤਰਾਂ) ਦਾ ਨਾਮਧਾਰੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿਚ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਨਾਮਧਾਰੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਲਈ ਭਾਵਨਾਤਮਕ ਸ਼ਰਧਾ ਦਾ ਰੂਪ ਰਖਦੇ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਵਾਸਤਵ ਵਿਚ ਧਾਰਮਕ, ਸਮਾਜਕ, ਆਰਥਕ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਪੱਖੋਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਦਸਤਾਵੇਜ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਤਾ ਨਾਮਧਾਰੀ ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਜਪਣ, ਬਾਣੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ, ਪਾਠ ਕਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਭੋਗ ਪਵਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕੀਤੀ, ਦੂਸਰੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਘੋਲ ਜਾਰੀ ਰਖਣ ਅਤੇ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਨੌਕਰੀਆਂ ਨਾ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਦਿਤਾ। ਰੂਸ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਬਣਾਈ ਰਖਣ ਅਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਵਟਾਂਦਰਾ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਇੱਕੋ ਇਕ ਸਾਧਨ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਹੀ ਸਨ। ਏਸ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਲਈ ਬਰਮਾਂ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕਈ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਸ਼ਟ ਸਹਾਰਨੇ ਪਏ। ਲਮੀਆਂ ਯਾਤਰਾਵਾਂ, ਤਿਖੀਆਂ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਨਜ਼ਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਆਉਣ ਜਾਣ ਦੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਖਰਚ, ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਭ ਔਕੜਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਹਾਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਸਿਖ ਆਪਣੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਤੀਕ ਪੁਜਦੇ ਰਹੇ।

ਜੁਲਾਈ 1880 ਦੇ ਅਖੀਰਲੇ ਹਫਤੇ, 27 ਨਾਮਧਾਰੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਜੱਥਾ ਹਰਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ, ਪਿੰਡ ਨਥਾਣਾ ਜਿਲਾ ਫਿਰੋਜ਼ਪੁਰ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਹੇਠ ਰੰਗੂਨ ਪੁਜਾ। 29 ਜੁਲਾਈ ਵਾਲੇ ਦਿਨ ਧੰਨਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਗੁਮਟੀਆਂ, ਰਿਆਸਤ ਪਟਿਆਲਾ, ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਨੇੜਿਓਂ ਪਕੜਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਤਲਾਸ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਉਸ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਦੋ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਬਰਾਮਦ ਹੋਏ। ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਅਫਸਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਕਰ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਧੰਨਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਨਾਮ ਨਥਾਣਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੀ ਲਿਖਵਾ ਦਿਤਾ।

ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਥਾਣਾ ਸਿੰਘ (ਧੰਨਾ ਸਿੰਘ) ਕੋਲੋਂ ਪਕੜੇ ਗਏ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਆਰਕਾਈਵਜ਼, ਨਵੀਂ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਸੁਰਖਿਅਤ ਪਏ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਦੇ ਪਨਾਂ 14 ਤੋਂ 18 ਤੱਕ ਦਿਤੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ। ਪਾਠਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਲਈ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਸਰਲ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਉਤਾਰਾ ਅਤੇ ਬਲਾਕ ਦਿਤੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।

—ਜਸਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ

ਪਹਿਲਾ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ

੧ਓ ਸਤਿਗਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ।

ਲਿਖਤੋ ਦਿਆਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜੋਗ ਉਪਮਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਉਣਿ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਹਰਿਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ, ਦੂਆ ਹਰਿਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ,ਸੋਭਾ ਸਿੰਘ,ਧੰਨਾ ਸਿੰਘ,ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੋਰੁ ਸਬੂੰਹਿ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੋ ਸਿਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇ ਬੁਲਾਵਣੀ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਨ ਕਰਨੀ । ਮਾਈ ਬੀਬੀ ਕੋ ਰਾਮ ਸਤਿ ਵਾਚਣੀ।

ਹੋਰੁ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਨੰਦ ਹੈਂ, ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਸਾਰੀ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੋ ਸੁਖੀ ਆਨੰਦ ਰਖੇ, ਇਹੁ ਮੰਗਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਪਾਸ ਤੇ । ਅਗੇ ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਵੇ । ਹੋਰੁ ਜੀ, ਜਿਸ ਜਿਸ ਸਰੀਰ ਨੇ ਕਹਾ ਹੈ ਕੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਇਹੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਹੈ. ਇਹੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਸਭੋ ਹੀ ਦੁਖੁ ਕਟਿ ਜਾਊਗਾ । ਢੂਹੀ ਦੁਖੁ, ਸੁੰਨਪਾਤ, ਮਿਰਗੀ ਬੀ, ਭੂਤ ਭੀ, ਹੋਰੁ ਬੀ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੁਖਾ ਕੋ ਮਾਨੁਖ ਦੁਖੁ ਦੇ ਰਹੇ, ਹੋਰ ਬੀ ਜੋ ਨੰਗ ਭੁਖੁ ਕਾ ਦੁਖੁ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਸਾਰਾ ਈ ਦੁਖੁ ਪ੍ਰਮੇਸਰ ਦੇ ਭਜਨ ਤੇ ਕਟਿ ਜਾਉਗਾ । ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਸਰਬ ਰੋਗ ਕਾ ਅਉਖਦੁ ਨਾਮੁ । ਸੋ ਜੀ ਨਾਮ ਦਾ ਤੇ ਬਾਣੀ ਪੜਨ ਦਾ ਏਹੁ ਬਡਾ ਮਹਾਤਮੁ ਹੈ । ਜੋ ਸਵਾ ਪਹਿਰੁ ਰਾਤ ਤੇ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੋ ਉਠਕੇ ਹਮੇਸਾ ਸਨਾਨੁ ਕਰਨਾ, ਬਾਣੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨੀ, ਫੇਰ ਭਜਨੁ ਕਰਨਾ ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤ ਕਮ ਕਾਰ ਮੇ ਜਿੰਨ੍ਹਾ ਹੋਇ ਆਵੇ ਅਰੁ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤ ਦਾਨੁ ਕਰਨਾ ਅਰੁ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੀ ਕੋਈ ਬੀ ਚੀਜ ਚਕਣੀ ਚੁਰਾਊ ਨਾ, ਪਰੁ ਪਿਛਾ ਰਾਤ ਨਾਉਣਾ ਜਰੂਰ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਰੇਈ, ਸਭਿ ਦੇ ਦੁਖ ਕਟਿ ਜਾਣਗੇ । ਇਹ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਸੁਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ।

ਹੋਰੁ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਉਣ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜੋ ਤੈਂ ਲਿਖਾ ਥਾ ਦੋ ਨਸਾਨ ਟੁਟਿ ਗਏ, ਸੋ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਖਬਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਅਗੇ ਜੋ ਕੀਧੇ ਟੁਟੇ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਤੈਨੂੰ ਜਬਾਬੁ ਲਿਖਾ । ਹੁਣਿ ਖਬਰ ਲਗੀ ਹੈ ਸਾਨੂੰ । ਥੋੜੇ ਦਿਨਿ ਹੋਏ ਹੈਨ ਦੋਈ ਨਸਾਨ ਮੀਰੀ ਤੇ ਪੀਰੀ ਦੇ ਟੁਟੇ ਹੈ । ਅਗਲੀ ਮੀਰੀ ਪੀਰੀ ਦੂਰਿ ਹੋਣ ਦਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਹੈ ਹੁਣਿ ਆਇਆ । ਅਗੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਵੇਅੰਤ ਹੈ । ਆਪਣੇ ਭਾਣੇ ਨੂੰ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਇਹੁ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਗੁਰੂਜੀ ਦਾ ਈ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ । ਹੋਰੁ ਜੀ, ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇਂ ਮੇ ਕੀ ਲਿਖਣੇ ਹੈ ! ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਤਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਈ ਲਿਖੇ ਦੇਖ ਲੈਣੇ ਜਿਨੇ ਦੇਖਣੇ ਹੋਣਿ, ਮੰਨਣੇ ਹੋਣਿ । ਮੰਨੇ ਬਿਨਾ ਦੇਖੇ ਦਾ ਕੁਛੁ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ । ਦੋ ਈ ਤਾਂ ਗਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ*, ਸੌ ਸਾਖੀ, ਪਰੇਮ ਸਮਾਰਗੁ ਇਹੁ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਹੈਂ ਸਾਰੀ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੋ ਅਰੁ ਸਾਰੇ ਭੇਖਾਂ ਕੋ, ਜਾਤਾਂ ਕੋ, ਅਰੁ ਮੈਂ ਵੀ ਸਾਰੀ ਸੰਗਤ ਦੇ ਬਾਸਤੇ ਲਿਖਕੇ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਤੇ ਹੈਂ । ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਪੁਰੇ ਪਏ ਹੈ, ਜਿਨ ਦੇਖਣੇ ਹੋਣਿ ਸੋ ਦੇਖ ਲੇਵੇ । ਦੇਖਣੇ ਈ ਹੈਨ ਭਾਮੇ ਕਿਤਨੇ ਦੇਖ ਲੈਣ, ਚਟਣੇ ਤਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ । ਇਕੁ ਚਟਿ ਲਊ ਇਕੁ ਐਮੇ ਰਹੂਗਾ । ਹੋਰੁ ਜੀ ਨਾਮ ਗਾਮ ਸਭ ਦੇ ਲਿਖਣੇ ਅਉਖੇ ਹੈ, ਸਭ ਕੋ ਸਿਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇ ਬੁਲਾ ਦੇਣੀ ।

---

* ਸ੍ਰੀ ਆਦਿ ਗਰੰਥ ਅਤੇ ਦਸਮ ਗਰੰਥ.

ਭਜਨੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਸੁਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ, ਅਰੁ ਪਿਛਾ ਰਾਤ ਨਾਇਕੇ ਜੋ ਭਜਨੁ ਕਰੂਗਾ, ਓਸਦਾ ਸਾਰਾ ਦੁਖੁ ਕਟਿ ਜਾਊਗਾ । ਏਥ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਬੜਾ ਦੁਖੁ ਹੋਆ ਥਾ, ਸਰੀਰੁ ਤਪਦਾ ਸੀ ਰਾਤ ਦਿਨ । ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਤੇ ਪਿਛਾ ਰਾਤ ਨ੍ਹਾ ਕੇ ਭਜਨੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਕਰਨ ਲਗੇ, ਓਸੇ ਦਿਨ ਤੇ ਠੰਢ ਬਰਤ ਗਈ ਸਾਨੂੰ । ਅਰੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਭੀ ਹਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਪਿਛਾ ਰਾਤ ਦੇ ਨਾਮਣ ਦਾ, ਬੜਾ ਈ ਮਹਾਤਮੁ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ । ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜੋ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਮੰਨੇਗਾ ਓਸ ਨੂੰ ਬਹੁਤੂ ਸੁਖ ਹੋਊਗਾ । ਬਿਨਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਮੰਨੇ ਦੇਖ ਲਓ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ* ਦੇ ਪੁਤ ਪਾਸ ਹੀ ਬੈਠੇ ਰਹੇ, ਗੁਰਿਆਈ ਅੰਗਦ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲੀ, ਕਿਸੇ ਥਾਂ ਦੇ ਖਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੂੰ । ਅਗੇ ਦਾਤੂ, ਦਾਸੂ, ਮੋਹਰੀ, ਮੋਹਣੁ ਬੈਠ ਰਹੇ, ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਕੋ ਗਦੀ ਮਿਲੀ, ਕਿਸੇ ਥਾਂ ਦੇ ਖਤ੍ਰੀ ਦੇ ਮੁੰਡੇ ਨੂੰ, ਨਾਲੇ ਲੜਕੀ । ਸੋ ਜੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਮੰਨੇ ਭਾਮੇਂ ਸੋ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਪਾਸ, ਤਾਂ ਭੀ ਕੁਛ ਸੁਖ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ ।

ਹੋਰੁ ਜੀ ਹੁਣਿ ਏਥੇ ਦਾ ਹਵਾਲੁ ਲੇਵੋ ਜਿਸ ਕਰਿਕੇ ਅਸੀਂ ਮਨੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਏਥੇ ਆਉਣ ਤੇ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਨੂੰ । ਸੰਗਤ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਦੇਹ ਪਰਾਨ ਹੈਨ । ਇਹ ਬਾਤ ਮੈਂ ਸਚੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੈ ਝੂਠੀ ਨਾ ਜਾਣਨੀ । ਏਵਾਈ ਬੰਦੂਕਾਂ (ਲਈ) ਸਾਡੇ ਉਤੇ ਖੜੇ ਹੈਨ । ਏਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਏਹੁ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ ਏਨਾ ਦੇ ਉਹੁਦੇਦਾਰ, ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਬਾਤ ਕਰੇ ਇੰਨ ਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਉਨਕੋ ਫਕੜੋ ਅਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਚੀਜ ਬਾਹਰ ਤੇ ਸਿਟੇ ਤਾਂ ਓਸਕੋ ਫਕੜੋ, ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਅੰਦਰ ਤੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਕੋ ਦੇਵ ਤਾਂ ਓਸਕੋ ਫਕੜੋ। ਦਿਨੁ ਰਾਤ ਏਹੋ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਸੁਣਾਈਦਾ ਹੈ ਪਹਰੇ ਬਾਲਿਆਂ ਕੋ । ਜੇ ਚਾਰ ਉਗਲਿ ਕਾਗਤੁ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਕੋ ਦੇਖ ਲੇਣ ਜੋ ਏਥੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਹਰੇ ਪੁਰਿ ਹੈਨ, ਤਾਂ ਨਾਲੇ ਏਨਾਂ ਸੰਤਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਣ ਨਾਲੇ ਬੇਤਾਂ ਮਾਰਨ ਪਹਰੇ ਬਾਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ, ਨਾਲੇ ਨਾਮੇ ਕਟਿ ਦੇਣ ਏਨਾਂ ਦੇ, ਅਰੁ ਨਾਲੇ ਥੁਆਨੂੰ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਣਿ, ਅਰੁ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਬੀ ਖਬਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਥੇ ਲੈ ਜਾਣਿ ਦੁਖ ਦੇ ਥਾਂ ਅਰੁ ਬਹੁਤ ਦੁਖ ਦੇਣ । ਏ ਮਹਾਂ ਮਲੇਛ ਹੈਨ, ਇਨ ਮੈਂ ਦਿਆ ਰਤੀ ਭਰਿ ਨਹੀਂ । ਏਸ ਬਾਸਤੇ ਅਸੀਂ ਮਨੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ । ਅਰੁ ਦਰਸਨੁ ਮੇਲਾ ਕੁਛ ਨਹੀ ਹੂੰਦਾ ਅਰੁ ਖਰਚੁ ਖੇਚਲ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੈ ਆਉਣ ਮੇ । ਜੇ ਏ ਮਿਲਣ ਦੇਣ ਤਾਂ ਭਾਮੇ ਸੌ ਸੋ ਕਠਾ ਆਏ ਜਾਥੇ ਤਾਂ ਭੀ ਅਛਾ ਹੈ । ਅਰੁ ਮੈਂ ਕਈ ਬਾਰਿ ਲਿਖਾ ਜੋ ਏਥੇ ਨਾ ਆਓ । ਜੇ ਆਓ ਤਾਂ ਇਕੁ ਕੇ ਤਾਂ ਦੋ ਆਦਮੀ ਬਰਸ ਦਿਨ ਪਿਛੇ ਆਉਣ ਤਾਂ ਅਛਾ ਹੈ । ਬਡੀਆਂ ਬਾਤਾ ਕੀ ਲਿਖੀਏ, ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਹੀ ਪੜਦੇ ਕੱਜੀ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਨਹੀ ਤਾਂ ਹੋਰੁ ਠਕਾਣਾ ਨਹੀ । ਸੁਖ ਤਾਂ ਬਚਨ ਮੰਨਣਿ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ । ਬਚਨੁ ਨਾ ਮਨਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਕੁਛ ਬੀ ਸੁਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਹਥਿ ਆਉਂਦਾ । ਜਿਤਨਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਰਚ ਕਰਕੇ ਏਥੇ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਹੈ, ਜੇ ਓਨਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਲਾਕੇ ਭੋਗੁ ਪਾਠੁ ਕਰੋ ਤਾਂ ਅਛਾ ਹੈ, ਵੇਅਰਥ ਏਨਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਰਚੁ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ । ਅਗੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜਾਣੋ । ਅਗੇ ਏਥੇ ਆਏ ਹਾਂ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੇ ਭੇਜੇ, ਹੁਣਿ ਜ ਕਿਤੇ ਹੋਰੁ ਅਗੇ ਭੇਜਣਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸੀ ਜਾਣੋ । ਜੇ ਅਛੀ ਬਰੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਤਾਂ ਏਥੇ ਆਉਣ ਦੀ ਬਾਤ ਤਾਂ ਨਾ ਕਰੇ । ਭਜਨੁ, ਪਾਠੁ, ਭੋਗੁ ਪਾਓ ਤਕੜੇ ਹੋਕੇ, ਤਾਂ ਸਭੇ ਕੰਮ ਸੋਰ ਜਾਣਗੇ । ਹੋਰੁ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ, ਜੇ ਤਾਂ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਰੀਰੁ ਓਹੋ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਸਮਾਰਗ ਮੇ, ਸਾਖੀਆਂ ਮੇ, ਰਾਮ ਮਿਰਗਿੰਦ ਅਰੁ ਪੈਲਾਦ ਸਾਗਰ ਮੇ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਪੋਥੀ ਨਿਕਲੀ ਹੈ ਓਸ ਮੇ ਜੋ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਬਾਰਮਾ ਥੁਤਾਰਾ, ਤਾਂ ਤੋ ਮੈਂ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਦੇਸ ਮੇ ਆਇ ਜਾਊਗਾ, ਅਰੁ ਮੀਰਾ ਦਾ ਤੇ ਪੀਰਾ ਦਾ ਨਾਸੁ ਦੋਹੋ ਅਭਾਊ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਊਗਾ ਸਭਦਾ । ਜੇ ਓਹੁ ਨਹੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਰੀਰੁ, ਤੁਸੀ ਕਾਸਨੂੰ ਏਥੇ ਆਉਣਾ ਹੈ ਮੇਰੇ, ਜਹੋ ਸੋ ਕੜੇ

* ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ।

ਤਖਾਣ ਫਿਰਦੇ ਹੈ ਦੇਸ ਮੇ, ਏਥੇ ਕਾਨੂੰ ਆਉਣਾ ਹੈ । ਅਛੀ ਬਾਤ ਏਹੋ ਹੈ ਹੁਣਿ ਏਥੇ ਆਉਣ ਭੀ ਨਾ ਕਰੋ। ਭਜਨੁ, ਪਾਠ, ਭੋਗ ਕਰੋ ਜਿਤਨੇ ਬਣਿ ਆਉਣ । ਐਮੇਂ ਬਾਟ ਦੀ, ਖਰਚ ਦੀ ਖੇਚਲ ਹੋ ਹੋਰੁ ਕੁਛੁ ਕੰਮ ਨਹੀ ਸਰਦਾ । ਅਗੇ ਜਾਣੋ ਸੋ ਕਰੋ ਜੋ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕੋ ਅਛੀ ਲਗੇ । ਮੈਂ ਤੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਆਖ ਸੁਣਾਈ ਹੈ, ਮੰਨੋ ਭਾਮੇ ਨਾ ਮੰਨੋ । ਅਰ ਇਹੁ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਕੁਛ ਖਬਰ ਨਹੀ ਜੋ ਮੈਂ ਕਦਿ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੈ ਦਸ ਮੇ, ਨਾਂ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੈ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਨਾ ਦਿਨੁ, ਨਾ ਥਾਓ ਈ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੈ, ਕਿਥੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੈ ਕਦਿ । ਪੋਲ ਦ ਸਰ ਮੈ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਪੋਥੀ ਨਿਕਲੀ ਹੈ ਓਸ ਮੇ ਤੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਦੇ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਨਾਰਾਇਣ ਸਿੰਘੁ, ਓਸ ਮੇਂ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਜਦ ਮਾਝੇ ਦੇਸ ਮੇ ਜੁਧੁ ਹੋਊ ਤਾਂ ਮੇਰਾ ਜਾਣਾ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਦੇਸ ਮੇ, ਅਗੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਾਣੇ । ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਰੋਲਾ ਪੈ ਜਾਏ ਤਾਂ ਪੱਚੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਅਗੇ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਹਰਿਦਾਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕਰਨੀ, "ਹੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ, ਜਿਥੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਅਛਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਸਾਨੂੰ ਪਰੇਰ ਕੇ ਓਥੇ ਲੈ ਜਾਹਿ" ਫੇਰਿ ਆਪੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਲੈ ਜਾਊ ਜਿਥੇ ਅਛਾ ਹੋਣਾ ਹੋਊ । ਮੈਂ ਕੀ ਦਸਣਾ ਹੈ, ਜੇ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਆਣਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਕੈਦ ਕਿਉ ਹੋਏ ਜਾਂਦਾ । ਏਹੁ ਬਾਤ ਬਿਚਾਰੋ ਤੁਸੀ ਸਾਰੇ ਜਣੇ । ਸਿਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਸਰਬ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੋ ਸਹਾਇ ਹੋਹੁ ਜੀ, ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਦਾਨੁ ਦੇਹ ਜੀ । ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਰਨ ਹੈਂ ਜੀ । ਏਹੁ ਹਰਿਦਾਸ ਛੈਆਈਂ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਬਾਸਤੇ ਹੈ ।

0—0

ਦੂਸਰਾ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ।

ਲਿਖਤੋ ਦਿਆਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜੋਗ ਭਾਈ ਹਰੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੋਰੁ ਸੰਬੂਹਿ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੋ ਸਿਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇ ਬੁਲਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਨ ਕਰਿਨੀ। ਹੋਰੁ ਅਸੀ ਸੁਖੀ ਆਨੰਦ ਹੈਂ, ਸੰਬੂਹਿ ਸੰਗਤ ਕੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਆਨੰਦ ਰਖੇ। ਬੀਬੀ ਨੰਦਾ ਕੋ ਹੋਰੁ ਸੰਬੂਹਿ ਕੋ ਰਾਮਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਬਾਚਣੀ।

ਹੋਰੁ ਬਸੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਕੁੜੀ ਨੰਦਾ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਮੁੰਡੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਆਖੇ ਨਹੀ ਲਗਦੇ। ਨਾ ਪੋਥੀ ਪੜਦੇ ਹੈ ਨਾ ਗਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਪੜਦੇ ਹੈਨ। ਸੋ ਭਾਈ ਕੇ ਤਾ ਪਿਛਾ ਰਾਤ ਸਵਾ ਪਹਰੁ ਰਹੀ ਤੇ ਹਮੇਸ ਭਜਨੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਕੀਤਾ, ਮਾਲਾ ਫੇਰੀ, ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤ ਭਜਨੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਕਰਿਆ ਕਰੋ। ਜੇ ਨਹੀ ਭਜਨੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਹੋਇ ਸਕਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਰੋਟੀਆਂ ਪਕਾਇਆ ਕਰੋ, ਘਾਹੁ ਖੋਤਿਆ ਕਰੋ। ਜੇ ਦੋ ਮੇ ਤੇ ਕੁਛੁ ਨਹੀ ਕਰਿਨਾ ਤਾਂ ਡੇਰੇ ਤੇ ਚਲੇ ਜਾਣਾ ਸਿਮਰੁ ਪਾਸ। ਜੋ ਬੁਆਨੂੰ ਤਿਨਾ ਬਾਤਾ ਮੇ ਤੇ ਅਛੀ ਲਗੇ ਸੋ ਕਰਿ ਲੈਣੀ। ਹੋਰੁ ਭੀ ਭਜਨੁ ਵਾਣੀ ਨਾ ਕਰੇ, ਉਸਕੋ ਬੀ ਡੇਰੇ ਤੇ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਦੇਣਾ। ਜੋ ਡੇਰੇ ਰਹਿ ਕੇ ਚੋਰੀ ਜਾਰੀ ਕਰੇ, ਸਭ ਕੋ ਡੇਰੇ ਤੇ ਕਢਿ ਦੇਣਾ, ਜਨਾਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਭਾਮੇ ਮਰਦਾਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ। ਅਰੁ ਵੇਲ* ਕੰਮ ਤੇ ਬਧੀਕ ਨਾ ਰਖਣੇ। ਹੋਰੁ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਤੇਰੇ ਪਾਸ ਭੇਜੇ ਹੈਂ ਸਾਰੀ ਸੰਗਤ ਬਾਸਤੇ, ਸੋ ਤੂੰ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਸੁਣਾ ਦਿਆ ਕਰੁ। ਜੋ ਏਧਰ ਆਉਣ ਬਾਲੇ ਹੈ ਉਨਕੋ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਸੁਣਾ ਦਿਆ ਕਰੋ। ਜੋ ਆਖੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਦੀ ਦੇ ਦੇਓ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ, ਤਾਂ ਓਸੇ ਕੋ ਦਿਤਾ ਕਰੋ ਉਤਾਰੁ ਕਰਕੇ। ਮੇਰੇ ਪਾਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਲਿਖੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ, ਮੇਰਾ ਤਾਂ ਨਿਤਨੇਮ ਦਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਪਾਠੁ ਹੀ ਸਮਾਂ ਪੂਰਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਏ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਆਉਣ ਤਾ ਬਰਸ ਪਿਛੇ ਆਮਣ ਨਹੀ ਤਾਂ ਦਸ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਪਿਛੇ ਇਕੁ ਆਵੇ ਕੇ ਤਾਂ ਦੋ ਆਵਣ ਬਧ ਨਾ ਆਉਣ। ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਤੀਮੀ ਕੋਈ ਆਈ ਤਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਗੁਸੇ ਹੋਊਗਾ। ਵੇਅਰਥ ਸੈਕੜੇ ਰੁਪਏ ਖਰਾਬੁ ਕਰਿ ਦਿਤੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੇ। ਏਥੇ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਖੜਾ ਬੀ ਨਹੀ ਹੋਣਿ ਦਿੰਦੇ, ਬਾਤ ਨਹੀ ਕਰਿਨ ਦਿੰਦੇ। ਮੈ ਝੂਠ ਤਾਂ ਨਹੀ ਬੋਲਦਾ ਹਰਿ ਬਾਰੀ, ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਮੈ ਝੂਠ ਹੀ ਬੋਲਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਫੇਰਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਾਸੋ ਕਿਨੇ ਕੀ ਲੈਣਾ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਹੀ ਪੜਦਾ ਕੱਜੀ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਏਥੇ ਬਾਲੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਖੋਟੀ ਨੀਤ ਹੋਇ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਅਜੁਕਲ ਦੇ ਸਮੇ ਮੈ ਭੋਗ ਪਾਠ ਕਰੋ ਜਿਤਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਤੇ ਹੋਇ ਆਵੇ। ਵੇਅਰਥ ਧਨੁ ਖਰਚ ਕਰਨਾ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਬੁਰੀ ਬਾਤੁ ਹੈ ਏਥੇ ਜੋ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਹੈਨ, ਏਥੇ ਆਕੇ ਏ ਵੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਡਰਦੇ ਹੈ ਪਰੁ ਹਟਦੇ ਨਹੀ। ਏਹੁ ਬਾਤ ਨਹੀ ਕੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਦਾ ਪਿਆਰੁ ਨਹੀ, ਸਿੰਘ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਡੀ ਦੇਹਿ ਪਰਾਨ ਹੈਨ, ਪਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਦੁਖੁ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਵੇ। ਏ ਤਾਂ ਮਲੇਛ ਨਿਰਦਿਆ ਹੈਨ। ਐਸੇ ਹੀ ਪਕੜ ਕੇ ਜੇਲਖਾਨੇ ਮੈ ਦੇ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹੈ। ਜੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਮੇਲਾ ਕਰਾਊਗਾ ਤਾਂ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਊਗਾ। ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੋਰੁ ਕੌਣੁ ਚੰਗਾ ? ਅਸੀ ਤਾਂ

---

* ਬੈਲ

ਰਾਤ ਦਿਨ ਏਹੋ ਮੰਗਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਪਾਸੋਂ—ਹੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ, ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਵਖੀ ਵਖੀਂ ਮਰੇ ਜੀਓ- ਦਿਆ ਕੋ ਜੇਹੜੇ ਕਹਿਆ ਮਨਣ ਗੁਰਿ ਸਬਦ ਦਾ। ਸਿਖੀ ਤਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਿ ਸਬਦ ਦੇ ਮੰਨਣ ਦੀ ਹੈ। ਬਿਨਾ ਗੁਰਿ ਸਬਦ ਮੰਨੇ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਣਦਾ, ਨਹੀ ਸਾਧੁ ਬਣਦਾ ਹੈ, ਭਾਮੇ ਕਿਤਨੇ ਬਾਣ ਬਣਾਵੇ ਕੋਈ, ਪਰ ਗੁਰਿ ਸਬਦ ਮੰਨੇ ਬਿਨਾ ਕੁਛ ਵੀ ਨਹੀ ਹਥੀ ਆਉਂਦਾ, ਏਹੁ ਸਰਬ ਸਾਸਤ੍ਰਾਂ ਕਾ ਮਤੂ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਕੂਕਿਆ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਵਿਰੋਧੁ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ, ਦੇਖ ਲੈਣਾ ਇਨਾ ਕੇ ਕੈਸਾ ਠਿਠੂ ਪਊਗਾ ਕਿਉਂ ਜੋ ਕੂਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਏ ਹੈ। ਇਨਾ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਦਾਵਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਥ ਪੈ ਗਿਆ। ਅਗੇ ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੋ ਭਾਵੇ। ਹੋਰੁ ਹੀਰੇ ਮਿਸਰ ਕੋ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਨਿਮਸਕਾਰਿ ਬਾਚਣੀ। ਹੋਰੁ ਸੁਣਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਮਿਸਰ ਹੀਰਾ ਸਿਰੁ ਮੂੰਹੁ ਮੁੰਨ ਕੇ ਰਖਦਾ ਹੈ। ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਦੇ ਭਜਨ ਬਿਨਾ ਤਾ ਕੁਛ ਕਮੁ ਨਹੀ ਸਰਦਾ, ਨਾ ਮੁਨੇ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਕੇਸਾ ਤੇ। ਹੋਰੁ ਭਾਈ 151 ।-ਰੱਕੁ ਭੇਜੇ ਹੈਨ ਸੋ ਲੰਗਰ ਪਾ ਦੇਣ ' ਅਰੁ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਦੇਣਾ ਜੋ ਭਜਨੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਕਰੇਂ ਤਕੜੇ ਹੋ ਕੇ। ਜੋ ਆਪਣਾ ਭਲਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਸਭ ਕੋਈ, ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਸਮਾ ਬੜਾ ਕਰੜਿਆ ਕਰੜਾ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਸਾਖਿਆਂ ਮੇ। ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਮੇਸਰ ਕੇ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਬਹੁਤ ਅਊਖਾ ਹੋਊਗਾ। ਅਰੁ ਏਧਰ ਆਉਣ ਤੇ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਮਨੇ ਕਰਿਨਾ। ਛੇਤੀ ਨਾ ਆਵੇ ਕੋਈ, ਅਰੁ ਇਕੁ ਆਵੇ ਦੋ ਚਾਰਿ ਕਠੇ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਨਾ ਆਉਣਾ।

ਅਰੁ ਬੀਬੀ ਤੂੰ ਕਰੀ ਜਾਹਿ ਭਜਨੁ ਤਕੜੀ ਹੋ ਕੇ। ਜੋ ਤੇਰੇ ਆਖੇ ਲਗੇ ਓਸ ਤੇ ਵੀ ਕਰਾਊ ਨਾ ਮੰਨੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਕਹਾ ਤਾਂ ਊਹ ਜਾਣੇ।

ਜਹਾਜੁ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾ ਚੜਿ ਜਾਣਾ। ਮੋਰਮਈ ਕਿਨ ਨਾ ਗਾਣਾ, ਓਥੇ ਵੀ ਅਜੁਕਲ ਮਿਲਣ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿੰਦੇ।

—

ਇਕ ਹੋਰ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ

'ਇਸ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਦੇ ਪੰਨਾਂ 64 ਅਤੇ 66 ਤੇ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ 26 ਅਤੇ 27 ਵਾਸਤਵ ਵਿਚ ਇਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ-ਨਾਮੇ ਦੇ ਦੋ ਹਿਸੇ ਹਨ। 26 ਨੰ: ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ 27 ਨੰ: ਤੇ ਛਪੇ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਦਾ ਹੀ ਦੂਸਰਾ ਹਿਸਾ ਹੈ। ਪਾਠਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਕਾਰੀ ਲਈ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਵਿਚ ਪੂਰਾ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੈ। ਹਸਤਲਿਖਤ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਭੈਣੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਸੁਰਖਿਅਤ ਹੈ।

—ਜਸਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ

੧ ਓ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ। ਲਿਖਤੋਂ ਦਿਆਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜੋਗ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਨਰੈਣ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇ ਬੁਲਈ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣ ਕਰਨੀ। ਹੋਰ ਬੀਬੀ ਪ੍ਰਤਾਪ ਕੌਇਰ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਮਸਤਿ ਬਾਚਣੀ। ਹੋਰ ਭਾਈ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਦਾ ਧੰਨ ਜਨਮ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਏਨੀ ਦੂਰ ਸਮੁੰਦਰੋਂ ਪਾਰ ਆਕੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਦਿਤਾ। ਏਨਾ ਤੁਸੀਹਾ ਸਹਿਆ, ਤੁਸੀ ਤਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਸਿਖੀ ਬਾਲਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਮ ਕੀਤਾ, ਮੇਰੇ ਮੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਗੁਰਿਆਈ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਬਾਲ ਸਮਾਨ ਬੀ ਨਹੀ। ਹੋਰ ਭਾਈ ਤੁਸੀ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਡੀ ਦੇਹਿ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਹੋ। ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਜੇ ਭੰਗੀ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਾ ਓਸ ਨੂੰ ਬੀ ਬੜੀ ਚਾਹਿ ਨਾਲ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਾਂ। ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਮਾਨੁਖ ਦਾ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਹੋਣਾ ਭੀ ਬਡਾ ਦੁਰਲੰਭ ਹੈ। ਅਸੀ ਜੋ ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਮਨੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਆਵੇ ਨਾ ਛੇਤੀ। ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਆਵੇ ਬੀ ਤਾਂ ਬਰਸ ਦਿਨ ਮੈ ਆਵੇ, ਏਕ ਆਦਮੀ ਆਵੇ ਅਰੁ ਜਨਾਨਾ ਕੋਈ ਨਾ ਆਵੇ। ਸੋ ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੁ ਏਤਨੀ ਦੂਰ ਅਰ ਏਨਾ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਖ਼ਰਚ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਉਣਾ ਅਰ ਵਡਾ ਕਸਟ ਸਹਿ ਕੇ, ਸੋ ਏਥੇ ਏ ਮਲੇਛ ਮਿਲਣ ਨਹੀ ਦਿੰਦੇ। ਤੁਸਾਡੀ ਮਾਲਮੀ ਹੋਇ ਗਈ, ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਬਰਵਾਦਿ ਦਿਤੀ। ਸੋ ਏਨਾ ਹੁਣਿ ਬੜੀ ਤਕੜਾਈ ਕਰੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਸੋ ਏਨਾ ਦੇ ਬੀ ਕੁਛ ਬਸ ਨਹੀ। ਜੇਹੜਾ ਬੜਾ ਗੋਰਾ ਹੈ, ਸਾਰੇ ਦੇਸਾ ਉਤੇ ਜਿਸਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ, ਓਸਦਾ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਏਥੇ ਕੰਧ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਾਇਆ ਹੈ—' ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਆਦਮੀ ਏਸਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਕਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਓਸਨੂੰ ਕੈਦ ਕਰੋ ਅਰ ਜੇ ਕੁਛ ਬਾਹਰ ਤੇ ਸਿਟੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਕੇ ਜਾਂ ਅੰਦਰੋ ਬਾਹਰ ਸਿਟੇ ਤਾਂ ਓਸ ਨੂੰ ਬੀ ਕੈਦ ਕਰੋ। ਅਰ ਕੋਈ ਆਦਮੀ ਨਾ ਏਧੇ ਸੌਹੇ ਖੜਾ ਹੋਣ ਦੇਓ।" ਸੋ ਏ ਏਸੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਨੇ ਏਨਾ ਦੇ ਸੰਤਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਨੁ ਮੇ ਨਰਮਾਈ ਪਾਈ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਏ ਕੁਛਕ ਬਾਤ ਕਰਾਇ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ। ਕੋਈ ਕੋਈ ਸੰਤ੍ਰੀ ਬੀ ਐਸੇ ਹੈ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਆਦਮੀ ਨੂੰ ਖੜਾ ਨਹੀ ਹੋਣਿ ਦਿੰਦੇ। ਜੇ ਏਨਾ ਮਲੇਛਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਛ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੋ ਜਾਇ ਤਾ ਏ ਨਾਲੇ ਸੰਤ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਬੀ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਨ ਨਾਲੇ ਨਾਮਾ ਕਟ ਦੇਣ, ਨਾਲੇ ਬੇਤ ਮਾਰਨ, ਨਾਲੇ ਜੇੜਾ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਆਵੇ ਓਸ ਨੂੰ ਬੀ ਕੈਦ ਕਰ ਦੇਣਗੇ। ਅਰੁ ਕੀ ਜਾਣੇ ਕੋਣ ਟਾਪੂ ਮੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਲੈ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਐਸੀ ਔਖੀ ਜਗਾ ਮੈ।

ਗੁਰ ਜੀ ਪਤਦਾ ਕਜੀ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਏਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਅਸੀ ਮਨੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਨਾ ਆਓ। ਅਸੀ ਤਾਂ ਬੰਦੀ ਮੇ ਹੈ। ਆਪਣੇ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਸੀਹਾ ਹੋਆ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਦੁਖ ਖੜਾ ਹੋ ਜਾਊਗਾ ਅਰੁ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕੀ ਜਾਣੀਏ ਕਿਥੇ ਲੈ ਜਾਣਗੇ। ਏਹੁ ਜਗਾ ਅਛੀ ਹੈ, ਸੁਆਫ ਹੈ ਨਾਲੇ ਅਕੰਤ ਹੈ, ਨਾਲੇ ਬਿਚ ਖੂਹਾ ਹੈ। ਸਨਾਨ ਦਾ ਬੜਾ ਸੁਖ ਹੈ। ਐਸੀ ਜਗਾ ਫੇਰ ਨਹੀ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣੀ।

ਭਾਈ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਏਨਾ ਦੀ ਤਕੜਾਈ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਦੁਖ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਮੇ ਬੀਹ ਬੰਦੂਕਾ ਕੰਨੇ ਧਰੀ ਫਿਰਨ। ਇਕ ਦੁਖ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਸਾਥ ਮੇਲ ਨਹੀ ਹੁੰਦਾ, ਹੋਰ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੇ ਮੇਲ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਨਹੀਂ। ਜੇ ਖੁਲੀ ਹੋਵੇ, ਆਦਮੀ ਆਉਣ ਜਾਣ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸ ਤਾਂ ਤੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਭਜਨੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਨਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੇਣ, ਪਏ ਮਗਜ ਖਾਣ ਵੇਅਰਥ। ਹੋਰ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੇ ਮੇਲੇ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਨਹੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਤੇ। ਸਾਡੀ ਬਾਤੁ ਕਾ ਤਾਤਪਰਜੁ ਏਹੁ ਹੈ ਜੇਕਰ ਏਸ ਦੀ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਜਾਇ ਰਹੀ, ਸਾਰੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਮੇ ਤਾਂ ਏਸ ਦੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਹੈ ਅਰੁ ਏਸ ਦਾ ਕਹਾ ਮੰਨਦੇ ਹੈਨ, ਤਾਂ ਏਹੁ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਕੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਲਕਾ ਨੂੰ ਕਢਵਾਇ ਦੇਊਗਾ। ਏਸ ਦੀ ਬੜੀ ਤਕੜਾਈ ਰਖੋ। ਏਸ ਬਾਤ ਤੇ ਏਨਾ ਨੇ ਮੇਰੀ ਬੜੀ ਤਕੜਾਈ ਰਖੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਮੇਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਮਨ ਮੈ ਕੁਛ ਨਹੀ, ਪਰ ਏਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਏਨਾ ਦੀ ਕਰਨੀ ਦਾ ਭੈ ਮਾਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਰਾਤ ਦਿਨ। ਭਾਈ ਏਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਅਸੀ ਮਨੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਨਾ ਆਓ ਪਰ ਜੀ ਸੰਗਤਾ ਆਈ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਹੋਰੁ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸਾਡੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੁਮਾਰ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੈ ਕਈ ਹਿਸੇ। ਜਿਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਤੁਆਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਜੈਸੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੈਨ, ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤਾ ਨਾਮ ਜਪਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਦਰਸਨ ਬੜਾ ਦੁਰਲਭ ਹੈ। ਜੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਰਾਊਗਾ ਤਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦੇ ਈ ਦਰਸਨ ਕਰਨੇ ਹੈਨ, ਸੰਗਤਿ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਏਣੇ ਹੈ। ਹਮਾਰਾ ਤਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਕ ਨਾਤਾ ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਈ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਗੇ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਏਹੁ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਦੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਕਰਾਓ। ਅਗੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਵੇ। ਭਾਈ ਅਸਚਰਜ ਖੇਲ ਹੋਇ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਕਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੇ ਇਉ ਦਿੜਾਏ ਛਡੀ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਏਹੁ ਬਹੁਤ ਬੁਰਾ ਹੈ, ਇਕਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਦਿੜਾਇ ਛਡੀ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਏਸ ਦੇ ਮਿਲੇ ਤੇ ਬੜਾ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਹੈ। ਅਗੇ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਾਣੇ ਏਸ ਬਾਤ ਨੂੰ, ਨਾਲੇ ਨਫੇ ਟੋਟੇ ਨੂੰ। ਪਰ ਜੀ ਤੁਸੀ ਏਹੁ ਬਾਤੁ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਜਾਣਨੀ, ਮੇਰੇ ਸਰੀਰ ਦਾ ਕਾਲ ਬਰਗਾ ਭੈ ਹੈ। ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਨੇ ਪਾਇ ਛਡਾ ਹੈ ਏਨਾਨੂੰ। ਮੈਂ ਤਾਂ ਜੀ ਨਾ ਭੈ ਦੇਣ ਜੋਗਾ ਹਾਂ ਨਾ ਕੁਛ ਬਖਸ਼ ਹੀ ਕਰਨ ਜੋਗਾਂ ਹਾਂ। ਸਭ ਕੁਛ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਈ ਹਥ ਮੇ ਹੈ।

ਹੋਰ ਭਾਈ ਜੇ ਏ ਮਲੇਛ ਮਿਲਣ ਦੇਣ ਤਾਂ ਬਚਨ ਬਲਾਸ ਤਾਂ ਐਤਨੇ ਕਰੀਏ ਤੇ ਸੁਣੀਏ ਰਾਤ ਦਿਨ ਵੇ ਗਿਣਤ। ਪਰ ਜੀ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਦੀ ਮਰਜੀ ਏਸੀ ਈ ਹੈ। ਐਥੇ ਮੇਲਾ ਬੀ ਜੇ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਸੁਪਨੇ ਜੈਸਾ ਈ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਕਛ ਮੇਲੇ ਦੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤ ਨਹੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ। ਜੋ ਮੇਲਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਅਛੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਛਕਾਈਏ, ਬਹੁਤ ਬਚਨ ਪੁਛੀਏ ਸੁਣਾਈਏ। ਭਾਈ ਅਸੀ ਏਸੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਮਨਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਮੇਲਾ ਕੁਛ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਨਹੀ, ਆਮਨ ਜਾਣ ਦੀ ਤਕਲੀਫ ਬੜੀ ਹੈ। ਮੇਲਾ ਤਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਰਾਊ ਤਾਂ ਹੋਊ ਨਹੀ ਤਾਂ ਹੁਣ ਤਾਂ ਮੇਲਾ ਕੁਛ ਨਹੀ। ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਬੜੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਤਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਸੁਖ ਸਾਂਦ ਨਾਲ ਤੁਰ ਨਹੀ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਸਿੰਘ। ਏ ਮਲੇਛ ਬੜੇ ਨਿਰਦਏ ਹੈ, ਏਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ ਈ ਸੰਭਾਲੂਗਾ।

—